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East Europe Report

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE BULGARIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN DEVELOPMENT OF SECOND CROPS OUTLINED

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 4 Aug 86 p 1

[Leading article: "Second Crops--Today's Concern Decisive for Harvest"]

[Text] July, the greatest harvesting month of the year, brought many unforeseen troubles, but also many hopes to compensate for what was lost. Other than in the spirit of grain harvesting, the month also passed by as a period during which specialists and managers farming flair and sense of responsibility manifested themselves most strongly—a period we shall count on, to a great extent, for mastering and solving animal husbandry's protein problem.

The idea of getting the maximum possible from every decare of arable and irrigated land is not new for us. Year after year some managers and scientists work to prove that most regions of Bulgaria can produce two, even three harvests provided that the crops are selected skillfully, that the agrotechnical time limits are observed and that the technologies are employed precisely. But we must confess that the result of their assurances has been nothing special—most frequently due to a severe summer dry spell. Besides this, concern for second crops most often comes to an end with their planting.

The attitude now is a little different, buoyed up by the hope that the increased moisture in the soil can in some measure return what the drought took away from the winter crops. Most agroindustrial complexes reacted very speedily and farsightedly—straightway after the harvest they sowed corn and sunflowers, mixtures of peas and oats, rye for green fodder, rape and other second and catch crops. Direct seeding was employed on a wide scale. Thanks to it, 95 percent of the croplands allotted for corn have been seeded, and 99 percent of those allotted for sunflowers.

But the situation is not the same with second vegetable crops—a large reserve to satisfy the autumn market and to meet the plan of the processing enterprises. Take green beans: there is a demand both for the fresh and especially for the canned, both in our country and abroad. Conditions for their cultivation are excellent; there are enough seeds. But the time for planting them has passed, and many okrugs have barely fulfilled 50-60 percent of their plans: Blagoev—grad, Burgas, Varna, Veliko Turnovo, Vidin, Mikhaylovgrad, Pleven. The specialists hardly have a reasonable explanation for this missed opportunity. Or take gherkins. Ruse Okrug planted 150 percent of their plan, Silistra

accomplished 229 percent, while Pazardzhik, Pleven, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and Khaskovo Okrugs by 1 August had not planted a single decare. Pazardzhik, Khaskovo and Vidin Okrugs have lagged behind in late cabbage. What can justify the nonfulfillment and underestimation?

Even if these okrugs had actually set themselves the goal of guaranteeing fulfillment of their plan for the year at any price, we can note a certain formalism in their approach. You cannot hope to fulfill a plan without output; no more can you expect output unless you plant sufficient croplands from which to gather a harvest.

There are examples of formalism in many places. The situation was difficult indeed in northwestern Bulgaria because of the unanticipated torrential rains. But it was difficult for the harvest. Why did the reactions of the specialists and managers of the agroindustrial complexes, of brigades, of the OAPS [okrug agroindustrial unions], of Bulgarplod have to be held up on account of this? Why did they wait along with the harvesters instead of speedily organizing the planting of second vegetable crops? Now once more they are in the ranks of those who have not coped, who will not produce the output so necessary to meet state targets.

The year obliges us to take thought, to combine forces skillfully and rationally and take advantage of every opportunity to "neutralize" runs of bad luck and achieve the targeted indicators. In this sense the raising of second and catch crops with the same concern and care as are bestowed on basic crops is a requirement set for every machine operator and technologist, for every specialist. Only thus can we count on output from them.

But is it thus in practice? No, opportunities to compensate for runs of bad luck by raising second crops are not turned to good account. Technological errors are still committed as early as seeding; herbicides are not applied; young plants are not hoed or watered; proper and systematic plant protection is not conducted.

How, for example, would the technologists explain the fact that they sowed second-crop sunflowers with seed they had on hand instead of using the varieties specially imported from abroad with a short growing season? What agronomist does not know the difference? Is this not also an example of a formalistic attitude? And an indicator that there could have been more bulk feed from this crop?

The main thing, the principal thing in the days ahead in the field must be concern about second crops. Hoeing and regular watering of young plants are decisive in order to obtain the expected crops. Throughout the country there are good examples that must be followed: Ruse and Silistra, Pazardzhik and Blagoevgrad Okrugs, and especially Tolbukhin. Skillful use is made of opportunities for family and group piecework; the assistance from enterprises and institutions outside agriculture is properly allocated.

Plant-protection specialists and technologists must personally assume responsibility for safeguarding second-crop vegetables against diseases and pests.

There are enough plant protectants; equipment is likewise available. Constant watch over young crops, speedy reaction and high quality of work will be decisive. Every lapse, every error intensely affects the results. This is a rule that must not be forgotten in either socialized or private agriculture. And the expected output of second crops is to be carried on the report of the processing enterprises, with all the obligations resulting therefrom. Henceforth thought must be given to the building of a wide network of purchasing centers for the output of both socialized and private agriculture.

We expect second crops from several million decares—crops which will not come by themselves, but will be a result of universal concern and a great deal of concern for every decare of seeded and planted cropland. The path chosen to increase protein and produce additional output is right. The results will depend on how that path is followed. Machine operators, specialists and technologists hold success in their hands.

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AGRICULTURE BULGARIA

DIFFICULTIES IN CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION SYSTEMS

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 9 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Ivan Andreychin: "Thirty-One Question Marks--Our Agricultural Commentary--Comprehensive Program for Accelerated Development of Irrigation Agriculture--Under Patronage of the Newspaper KOOPERATIVNO SELO"]

[Text] We have not taken up the topic of subcontractors in the construction activity of the Water Supply Combine because in scale it is all that important for the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for the Accelerated Development of Irrigation Agriculture in our country up to 1995. What is a mere 31 million leva or thereabouts of subcontractor activity compared with the more than 200 million leva worth which the combine has to accomplish this year alone!

But let us in a few sentences explain precisely what the point at issue is. It is known that Water Supply is building reservoirs, irrigation systems, pumping stations and the like. For this activity the combine has the specialists, machines, subsidiary enterprises, etc., that are called for. But there are specific activities for which Water Supply does not have any resources at its disposal: power supply systems, roads, housing tracts, etc., etc. Water Supply, in the appropriate procedure as chief contractor, entrusts its atypical activity to specialized organizations, which are subcontractors. But this "sub" by no means goes to show that their work is at all "sub," that it is unimportant. On the contrary, in a number of instances it is so important that it sometimes even becomes disastrous. For you cannot put a pumping station into service without electricity. And from that fact scores of consequences follow, one after the other, the most important of which (disastrous, in fact) is that you cannot hand over the irrigation system to agriculture for use.

Let us return to where we started. The work that is unfinished by the subcontractors is not so important as is its volume. It is in most cases urgent and indispensable. Moreover, due to the 3 drought years many government documents state that preference shall be given in all cases to activities involving the Comprehensive Program for the Accelerated Development of Irrigation Agriculture up to 1995. An abundance of facts and figures, however, shows that in practice everything can be done, except precisely what is required to master the caprices of nature in the nearest future, i.e., to be independent of them.

It will take us a very great deal of time and space if we decide to enumerate where, how and how much each subcontractor is impeding Water Supply's work. For there are not just one or two of them, but precisely 31. that each one of these subcontractors puts a stick, albeit a small one, in the spokes of the wheel. Even that will make matters worse for the chief contrac-But actually matters have nothing at all to do with "small sticks." During the first half Water Supply Combine's subcontractors fulfilled only 6,433,000 leva worth of their total obligation of 31 million leva! This is nothing more nor less than 20 percent of their annual target! It is interesting what they are counting on in order to fulfill the remaining 80 percent in the second half! Electric Construction [Economic Combine], for example, has a target as subcontractor of 3,865,000 leva, yet it performed barely 936,000 leva worth, i.e., 24 percent of the annual target, during the first half. Let us take a still more precise example. In the construction of the Pirinska Bistritsa project, Electric Construction SK has to carry out the construction of power lines worth 102,000 leva, but it still hasn't started. This will unquestionably affect the commissioning of the project and the consequences are clear to everybody. The same subcontractor is also holding up the installation of the Dubovo substation of the Stara Zagora irrigation system, taking down in the first half only 24,000 leva of the planned 200,000 leva! Unfortunately we can still go on for a long time with similar examples.

Another especially important subcontractor is Khidrostroy [Hydraulic Construction]. Of construction worth 5,801,000 leva the hydraulic engineers accomplished 1,538,000 leva in the first half, which represents 27 percent of the annual target. The commissioning target date of Rakov Dol Dam, for example, has been prlonged due to the fact that the injection work on the tunnel has not been completed, as well as the driving of the tunnel itself. The subcontractor on this project took down in the first half only 264,000 leva of the total plan for 1 million leva. The construction target of the Tsonevo (Varna Okrug) irrigation system is 500,000 leva, but to this day its execution has not been started. For now the hydraulic engineers are not impeding the chief contractor of this project, but we don't always have to wait for the moment when we begin to be impeded, do we? On another especially important installation for our irrigation agriculture--Nova Zagora siphon, the subcontractor has not taken down a single lev of his total target of 1.5 million leva! Here, too, examples can continue to the point of boredom.

The topic of subcontractor activity that we have taken up is so prodigal we could enumerate scores of similar facts, but this is hardly necessary, for with what has been said thus far the picture becomes completely clear. I should like, however, to say a few words about another subcontractor whose laggardliness casts a little different discredit than that of the others. I refer to what the construction and installation combines in the okrugs have to do. Here matters have to do mainly with the construction of administrative buildings and housing. Out of the 2,715,000 leva entrusted to them for implementation this year, only 113,000 leva were taken down in the first half, which represents 27 percent [sic] of the annual target. In Vidin Okrug, for example, out of the targeted 550,000 leva for the housing tract and the building of dikes on the Danube River, not a single lev has thus far been taken down! This is the way matters stand with the housing tract in Lovech too.

which perhaps for this very reason has been under construction now for 4-5 years. What is so different in this case? Nothing other than the fact that the issue is housing for personnel. It is not hard to guess, given this shortage of specialists, that the okrug enterprises have made certain commitments and that in such instance it is hard to retain their personnel when they are offered housing elsewhere.

We have said very little thus far about subcontractor activity in hydraulic construction, but it, too, would take anybody aback. Let us try then to imagine what the true picture would be if we enumerated the lapses of all 31 subcontractors.

Will the ways of the hydraulic construction men continue to be as erratic up to 1995 itself?

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SUCCESSFUL MARKETING OF ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS ABROAD NOTED

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 10 Aug 86 p 5

[Article by Emil Komatichev: "Bulgarian Electronics Around the World"]

[Text] Izotimpeks is well-known in many international markets. This now foreign trade organization, which was created 18 years ago, accounts for 60 percent of the country's total exports of electronic and electrical engineering industrial output. A large number of economic organizations are serviced by the Izotimpeks VTO, such as the Izot, Instrument Making and Automation, Communications and Resprom SO, the Ministry of Transport, etc.

About 80 percent of the country's needs for measuring equipment, control-measuring apparatus and means of automation are met on the basis of procurement contracts and agreements on specialization and cooperation with the socialist countries, the USSR above all. Trade relations with the Soviet Union are steadily expanding on the basis of long-term cooperation and agreements for specialization in the production of computers, instruments and structural elements and components.

Active trade contacts are being maintained between the organization and developed capitalist countries, including traditional relations with the FRG, France, England and Austria.

In recent years substantial increases have been noted in exports to Nigeria, Morocco, Bangladesh, India and others.

Izotimpeks export items include the IZOT-1031 and Pravets 8M personal computers, which are extensively used in secondary and higher schools, industry, designing and scientific research and experimentation. The 16-bit professional IZOT-1036, IZOT-1037 and Pravets-16 professional computers are well received throughout the world. They are used in processing text, figures and graphic information and in information-referential systems. Bulgarian electronic industry items included in the Izotimpeks export catalogue include ES-2706 matrix processors, used in nuclear physics, astronomy, geophysics, space research, medicine, etc. Our partners are also interested in the IZOT-1016 M computer, with a memory of up to 1 megabyte, used mainly in automating the management of production processes.

The extensive popularity enjoyed by Izotimpeks is confirmed by its annual participation in about 30 renowned international fairs and exhibits.

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POOR COORDINATION DELAYS EXECUTION OF ECONOMIC PLANS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Eng. Nikolay Asenov, chief controller of Committee for State and People's Control, and Mara Georgieva: "Underestimation That Results in Precisely Estimated Consequences"]

[Text] Joint Check by Committee for State and People's Control and the Newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO

Delay in Execution of Certain State Projects in Strategic Areas of Scientific and Technical Progress

The approved state projects targeted for 1986 the creation of a scientific product of 237 tasks and the introduction into production of 222. The annual effect from the marketing of the developments—about 450 million leva—will come from the new and improved machines, equipment, technologies and materials that are created. The State Research and Technology Committee is making considerable efforts to establish a good organization for the accomplishment of what has been targeted. There are emerging, however, certain substantial deficiencies in the work of a number of economic trusts which, taken individually and in their entirety, adversely affect the target dates and quality of execution of tasks.

Alarming inaction. The investor-developer-contractor triangle in principle presupposes all-round responsible discussion and precise definition of rights and obligations on conclusion of contracts. The aim is that developments should be finished on time and according to specifications. But if the signing of contracts is held up, the delay will mean only one thing--if time is lost, money will be lost, too.

Up to the end of March 1986 contracts had been concluded for no more than 80 state projects. By the middle of April the number was 66. The first 10-day period of June saw the figure reduced to 29, most of which were within NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union] and the Bulgarian Tourism and Recreation Association.

Obviously, the postponement of the developments and the still obscure fate of some of them cannot be compensated for by any explanations and reasons, however "objective" they may be.

Besides this, for a number of projects contracts still have not been concluded for the planning, the performance of construction and installation work, and the procurement of absolutely necessary raw materials, supplies and equipment. How can there in such instance be any talk of efficiency in what is being done when the rudimentary requirements for normal work are lacking?

Examples: --The procurement of important raw materials has not been juridically finalized for two new production lines at the Construction Polymer Combine in the city of Elin Pelin, from which production of a total of 600 tons of products is targeted. There are demerits in the "dossier" of the Chemical Industry Economic Trust.

--The check established that there likewise are no signed documents for the production and sale of products under the new technology for centrifugal casting of housings for the final reduction assembly for trucks. The G. Genov Machine-Building Plant in Vratsa is charged with introducing it into production.

Anywhere where trilateral contracts have already been drawn up, there are differences between the target dates and volume indicators in the state projects and in the corresponding technical and economic tasks and work programs. These differences "favor" excessively low quantities and prolonged target dates for execution!

Examples: --The trend is, as follows: technologies for the production of paints and varnishes for electronics, developed and introduced into production by the T. Toshkov Chemical Combine in Svetovrachane and the G. Genov Chemical Combine in Ruse. The state project targets the production of 100 tons of products this very year. Yet the contract that has been signed finalizes only 70 tons, and in 1987 at that.

--The contract on the task of expanded introduction into production of a technology for wear-resistant coatings for Bulgarian steel tools, introduced into production by the Metalworking Machines and Robots Economic Trust, specifies that half as many tools as ordered by the state for 1987 will be produced, and in 1988 at that.

The state tasks assigned to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are groundlessly being developed and reported as unplanned tasks. This, of course, makes it possible for the plan to be fulfilled, even in the event of their nonexecution.

The untimely deliveries of contracted-for equipment, raw materials and supplies, the delayed construction and installation work and the unprovided financial resources lead, as a logical consequence, to defaulted target dates and to delays of individual stages and activities. Problems arise also from the lack of the necessary number of trained specialists to man the new lines and production processes.

Examples: --Construction of the new workshop at the Agriya Chemical Plant in Plovdiv is lagging behind. As a result, execution of the state project to

introduce a new technology is lagging behind. The target date for its introduction has been postponed three times, but despite this hardly one-tenth of the yearly plan of construction and installation work has thus far been accomplished. The identities of the defaulters are the Plant Sites SU [Construction Administration] and the Industrial Installation Administration in Plovdiv.

--There is a delay in the building of the installation and the solution of the personnel problem of the newly introduced technology for copper production through chemical and bacterial extraction from the Elatsite deposit.

Do it the traditional way? The creation of comprehensive special-problem teams to ensure execution of the state project from development to introduction into production is not a task of paramount importance for some economic trusts. For certain, in the event, there is no question of ignorance of the advantages offered by these teams. Obviously the traditional approach combined with inertia, and this way has a "deciding vote" in the unjustified, unnecessary and detrimental prolongation of target dates for execution.

The execution of most state projects is proceeding normally, but for a small portion of them—over 20 percent, execution involves serious difficulties and problems. Analysis of the reasons indicates that the main thing is subjective lapses. Underestimation of the tasks, apathy, lack of initiative and persistence still characterize the work style of a number of managements of economic trusts. The complex of financial, material and personnel prerequisites necessary for execution of state tasks quite often is "sundered" by well-known formalism. And I am referring to especially important projects in strategic areas of scientific and technical progress! That is why it is that much more necessary that the comprehensive measures of the economic trusts, which are so imperative, also be joined with the efforts of the Economic Council and of the State Research and Technology Committee. Little time remains till the end of the year.

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ECONOMY BULGARIA

WEAKNESSES, DELAYS IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION EXAMINED

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 11 Aug 86 pp 1-2

[Article by Todor Lipanov: "Every Single Day is Decisive"]

[Text] The implementation of the priority housing program in Sofia since the beginning of the year was considered at an expanded meeting of the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee, which was held last Friday, at the Sofia House Building Combine. The meeting was attended by Anastasiy Donchev, Sofia City BCP Committee first secretary, Georgi Grigorov, chairman of the Construction SO, Georgi Belichki, chairman of the Construction Materials SO, Sofia City BCP Committee secretaries and general directors of construction trusts. The meeting was chaired by Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee. A study of results achieved so far was made in a critical spirit. It was pointed out that delay has been allowed to occur, which threatens the implementation of the priority housing program. A thorough discussion was held on the reasons for the unsatisfactory condition and decisions on the radical reorganization of the work, the harnessing of all efforts and the utilization of all reserves for the strict implementation of assignments in housing construction during the first year of the 9th 5-Year Plan were adopted.

The past 7.5 months have shown that no radical change has been made in construction in Sofia, despite the requirements of the 25th accountability and election conference of the Sofia city party organization and the resolutions of the 13th Party Congress. Weaknesses which have been noted for many years continue to influence the work. Once again errors have been made in the investment process, in the coordination of the efforts of designers, investors and construction workers and of the work. By I August, according to current data, 2,979 housing units had been completed in Sofia, which is a very small part of the annual assignment of 13,533 apartment units. Four blocks totaling 200 apartment units are still at the foundation stage by the Sofia DK; only 216 of the 2,544 housing units which must be built by the other administrations of the Sofstroy DSO have been completed. The GUSV is poorly implementing its plan; the pace at which the infrastructure is being developed and housing complexes are being provided with amenities is inadequate. lag at the Inzhstroy and Minstroy DSO has delayed the commissioning of more than 500 apartment units, which are entirely completed, at the Obelya-2 and The condition of projects related to Druzhba-2 residential districts.

comprehensive public services, such as schools, kindergartens, health establishments and stores, remains unsatisfactory....

Even if the strict figure of completing 8,660 apartment units in the first 9 months of the year is attained, the satisfaction would be minor, for during the first quarter yet another 4,679 apartment units will have to be completed. Yet it is well-known that it is during that time of year that weather conditions are the least suitable for finishing operations. These considerations become even more worrisome if we consider this year's plan within the context of the 5-year program. Obviously, we must be ready to accomplish a qualitative leap in subsequent years. Are the construction workers in Sofia ready for this?

This is not the first time that we have discussed the lack of regularity in the implementation of the plan by quarterly periods and that a number of omissions can be found in investment and engineering and technical preparations for comprehensive housing construction. Now, when the calendar year coincides with the commissioning of most housing, in addition to the fact that finishing operations are being carried out during the worst season, conditions are developing for a large number of apartments to remain empty for several months (for the entire winter), practical experience having indicated that they become occupied not before the month of May. This hinders the GDIS, which must manage them during that time; furthermore, water pipes burst from the cold, etc. Quite frequently, the first months of the year are used to finish what was not completed the previous year. An end must be put to this. It must be made clear that with the present system of planning the production year must end with the calendar year, on 31 December....

The advantages of 2-year construction planning were made apparent close to 10 years ago. To this day, however, this remains nothing but a wish. Yet this would avoid a great deal of difficulties. Conditions would be created for steady rhythmical work and for the most flexible utilization of mechanization and brigades. Redesigning is frequently allowed for different projects, either because the task has not been specifically assigned to the designers or else because they have not taken all requirements into consideration. How is this possible? Redesigning a project involves more work and more money. Naturally, as practical experience has indicated, the cost is not borne by the culprits, although it is precisely this that would be most equitable for the state and society.

The question of construction manpower remains exceptionally difficult. Every year, Sofia is short of an average of 3,000 workers. For the time being, such manpower requirements are met from unstable sources (brigade leaders, temporarily employed people, etc.), and turnover is high. In addition to some objective difficulties, the construction organizations themselves must be blamed, for they are not making sufficient efforts to lower the amount of hard and unattractive work and decisively apply new mechanization facilities.

In turn, manpower shortages raise the question of the most efficient utilization of existing equipment and of installing new high-efficiency machinery. Studies have indicated that in many areas the system of shift work is inoperative; idling is allowed and working time is not compressed.

Strictest possible control must be organized and economic sanctions must be imposed should such weaknesses occur.

Obviously, an overall reconstruction, a new approach to the work and systematic efforts to improve the investment process are needed. can the major assignments be carried out. There is still time until the end of the year to make a change. The implementation of assignments must be The construction organizations must review all existing accelerated. possibilities and convert to multiple-shift work. The possibilities of the brigade piece-rate method must be used. Steps must be taken to provide the necessary amounts of construction materials and items and ensure regular supplies of contracted-for quantities. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations must cooperate most actively in mobilizing the brigades to achieve the highest possible production results. The rayon people's councils must also become involved by assuming control over each project in the target program and provide direct assistance. Action will be the best possible proof of the fact that the high responsibility--the implementation of the target housing program--has been clearly understood.

5003 CS0:2200/168

SHORTAGE OF CHEMICAL PRODUCTS FOR HOUSEHOLD USE DISCUSSED

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 10 Aug 86 p 5

[Interview granted by Kiril Petkov, chairman of the Chemical Industry SO, to VECHERNI NOVINI Correspondent Rumyana Kochanova: "Requirements Are Dictated by the Market"]

[Text] Chemistry is indivisible from our daily life. The fibers from which we weave fabrics for clothing, dyes and lacquers with which we embellish our streets and homes, washing detergents..., all such products are created in this important raw material sector. That is what makes so topical today the question of their quality and variety and the application of new modern technologies in production.

The conference recently held by the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and Council of Ministers bureau on problems of consumer goods set responsible assignments to the economic managements of enterprises within this sector. We discussed them with Kiril Petkov, chairman of the Chemical Industry SO:

[Question] Comrade Petkov, what must chemistry contribute to the production of consumer goods?

[Answer] We can truly be dissatisfied when we compare what has been accomplished in our country, on the basis of the new strict criteria, with what is produced by the chemical industry in the developed countries in terms of variety and quality. That is why we believe that the complaints directed at us by the textile industry are justified. We are still not fully satisfying its needs for fine viscous and polyamide fabrics, some types of staples of increased strength and less inflammable fibers. We also owe something to the shoe, haberdashery and furniture industries in terms of providing them with some polyurethane materials and items. There is a shortage of dunaprene and of proper quality and variety of artificial leathers.

Despite the substantial and rapidly increasing range of chemical products for household use, we are still not supplying the market with all that it needs such as, for example, washing detergents, particularly of the granulated sort. Nor are ordinary detergents sufficient. We are somewhat hindered in

increasing the production of dyes and lacquers for household use and are failing to meet the needs of the country for passenger-car tires.

[Question] What is holding back the development of such production?

[Answer] In the area of low-tonnage chemistry, a subsector which is most closely related to household products, the major hindering factors are the lack of specialized equipment. This problem has two alternative solutions. First, to import the necessary machines and equipment. The hindrance now is that if the goods which can be produced with their help are not exported and the combines have not exported and sold goods above the plan, they have no right to import the necessary equipment. The solution to this problem is to obtain a bank loan in foreign currency, which can be repaid from sales of nonbalance-sheet items. The second solution is for our machine building, which is already producing complex automated systems, some of which for export, to undertake, on a contractual basis, to produce such specific types of machinery on the basis of designs supplied by the customer.

The main reason for sluggishness in the development of various technologies, either ready for use or transfer, is the lack of pilot and semi-industrial installations in the development units of enterprises and sectorial institutes. This problem must be quickly solved by updating the legal documents, thus increasding the economic efficiency and expediency of the foreign exchange granted for this purpose.

[Question] What are the most important aspects of the 5-year program specifically aimed at ensuring a qualitatively new growth in the production of consumer goods? How do you intend to meet the demands of the market?

[Answer] Based on the program for restructuring the chemical industry, we are relying on significantly increasing the production of consumer goods, improving their quality, expanding their variety and eliminating shortages of some items. For example, even before the end of this year the Chemical Combine in Vidin will have a newly installed capacity for 180,000 radial tires for passenger-cars; by the end of the 5-year period we are planning to double this output. We are also planning the technical retooling and technological updating of already installed production capacities.

In this connection, I disagree with some views on shifting chemical production to the local industry system, the labor-production cooperatives, etc. Chemical processes are complex and demand highly skilled manpower.

Finally, here are two suggestions directly related to the production of consumer goods:

The building of new capacities for goods for the commodity fund will include a 20-30 percent reserve capacity compared to the needs of the domestic market. Such a reserve should not be balanced and the producers should be given the possibility of acquiring related items through barter operations;

In the case of enterprises whose share of commodity output determines the structure, an easier economic and investment mechanism should be established,

with lowered norms of profit withholdings. This will provide conditions for true financial self-support and will simplify the system of direct and foreign trade operations, such as that of trading goods for equipment.

Obviously, a great deal of work remains to be done in order to accelerate the pace at which the production of consumer goods is developing, in accordance with the criteria of a qualitatively new growth, if we are to surmount the restraining factors. This is the duty and responsibility of all self-managing organizations.

5003 CSO:2200/168

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON WORKFORCE, ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

LD292018 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Text] New legal regulations were created recently concerning manpower management issues related to the regrouping of workers. This is the topic of the interview Gyorgy Ney was granted by Laszlo Bukta, deputy chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor.

[Begin recording] [Ney] An absolutely shocking figure was mentioned: The budget devoted 157 billion forints last year to loss-making enterprises, enterprises without working capital, the crisis branches, under various legal headings, preferences, subsidies, special requirements, and so on. If my calculations are correct, this is roughly a quarter of the national income.

[Bukta] The facts are correct and your calculations as regards the percentage are also right. This is an intolerable situation. We have emphasized here that full employment must be maintained under all circumstances. However, the requirement of effectiveness, of effective employment, must be manifested with the same force. What is more, this must be done so that everyone will stand on his own feet instead of continuing to burden the budget with these sums.

[Ney] Approximately 700,000 people leave their jobs each year. How many people are dismissed by enterprises?

[Bukta] The spirit of the regulations and our ideas suggest and aim at ensuring that the main motivating force should be the interest of production, for example, the change of structure, the elimination of loss-making enterprises and products, rather than an individual motivation. Consequently the employers must be placed in a situation where they have the possibility—and environmental changes, changes in pressure factors are needed—which will force the economic units to carry out these changes.

[Ney] Why is it in the interest of the enterprises at the present time to retain the workers, thereby lowering their own productivity and efficiency? What is it that fails to put pressure on them at the present time to make chantes?

[Bukta] Even at the present time we are not providing incentives for the enterprises to retain this workforce. However, the so-called other channels,

such as the recognition of unproductive work in the sphere of prices and the forms of subsidy which we have already mentioned, a certain sense of comfort and habits, the insufficient preparation of public opinion—I will not go on....

[Ney, interrupts] In the final analysis, the regulations are also involved here.

[Bukta] I acknowledge that the regulations are also involved, only I wish to emphasize that this is not a question of the regulation of wages or of incomes—habits, for example, have such a strong force that the enterprise is not will—ing to undertake the discomfort of telling those who work badly, who work negligently, that this cannot be continued, or to eliminate the loss—making products from its profile, which would obviously involve a regrouping of the workforce. The economic units are at the moment tending toward the direction of least resistance. We are also at fault, because it must also be made easier, the conditions must also be created to ensure that the efficiently—working units should be able to absorb the labor force which is freed elsewhere.

[Ney] How can it be ensured that the 100-150,000 people who should be freed in the interest of the productive sphere, this large number of people in need of employment, should indeed find a job somewhere? Let us go back a little further, however. How does it become possible that so many people should indeed leave the productive sphere?

[Bukta] We are planning to achieve it by transforming the economic environment and, within it, the system of regulators, and we shall also use solutions whereby those who temporarily cannot find employment will be found humane solutions.

[Ney] Journalists have been asked not to call this certain support unemployment benefit but a job-finding support. There are all sorts of possibilities: Someone might be on child-care leave, someone might be in military service, might be learning a trade, or an enterprise might cease operating.

[Bukta] If the regrouping effects 10 or more people than this possibility exists. At the suggestion of the National Council of Trade Unions, with which the government agreed, we have taken special steps to ensure that those people in employment from a legal point of view should not be handicapped as regards their legal rights: Consequently regulations apply to these people just as if they had been working at the time of regrouping and had the possibility of looking individually as well for a job that is suitable for them. The regulations consist of four elements: Firstly [as heard], in cases where regroupings affecting larger numbers are involved, this must be announced 3 months in advance.

[Ney] To the workers?

[Bukta] Naturally, the workers must be told. Thus, the workers can also look individually for employment.

[Ney] And if they cannot find employment?

[Bukta] If they cannot find employment, the government has decided to extend the period of notice. The period of notice will extend from 15 days to 6 months.

[Ney] This is not compulsory, but something that can be granted?

[Bukta] It is not obligatory and, what is more, it will not be a burden on the enterprise. In other words, it will be financed out of the state budget. If a worker still does not succeed in gaining employment, then there is a further 6-month period at his disposal: During the first 3 months he will receive 75 percent of average income [as heard], and in the second 3 months, 60 percent. This also provides an individual incentive. In other words, the worker has altogether 15 months to find employment. In Hungary, where there is a very significant shortage of labor, there are solutions. There might be tensions in certain areas, or other tensions, but mass unemployment, which you asked me about, cannot happen. [end recording]

/12232

CSO: 2500/15

BRIEFS

FUTURE COAL PRODUCTION—Byula Czipper, deputy minister of industry, has said among other things that there is a serious manpower shortage in deep-cut mining. The total number of employees is 28,000; a further 3,000 could be employed. Regarding prime production costs, the Thorez and Bukkabrany mines are working with a 60 forints/gigajoule prime cost, and 1 gigajoule of energy at the rate of \$15 can be be obtained from crude oil at a prime cost of 100 forints. Those mines that will be closed are producing at some 120-125 forints/gigajoule. According to plans, the mine closures will result in a drop in coal production. Total production by 1990 will be down from 17.4 million metric tons to 15.3 million metric tons. The loss will be made up for by increasing brown coal production, which is to rise from 6.6 million metric tons to 8.7 million metric tons. [Summary] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Aug 86 p 6 AU] /12232

ENERGY CONSUMPTION DECREASES—Total use of energy in the national economy in the first 8 months dropped by 0.9 percent compared with the same period last year. Second quarter consumption was similar to that of last year, while it increased somewhat in July and August. All in all, we have not reached last year's level as yet. Electricity consumption increased by 2.1 percent, thus not reaching the planned level. Some 47.6 percent of energy producing materials were covered by domestic production, 1 percent less than during the same period last year. An increase was registered in the exports of coal, fuel—cake, natural gas, and electrical power. The total of our main energy producing materials increased, while that of coal decreased somewhat. The coal sector produced a total of 14,536,000 metric tons of coal, almost 350,000 tons less than in the same period last year. Hydrocarbon production dropped somewhat as well. Within the electricity sector, the production of power by the nuclear power station increased. [Excerpts] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Sep 86 p 1 AU]

MACHINE INDUSTRY PERFORMANCE—Machine industry production in the first 6 months of the current year exceeded the results of the same period last year by 5.5 percent. The machine industry sector might overfulfill its gross production value plan by 3.5 percent. Exports accounted in rubles have increased by almost 3 percent so far and the increase in exports accounted in convertible currency exceeded 30 percent. According to the agreements and exchanges of goods thus far, the machine industry is expected to export \$20-\$25 million more in the course of 1986 than stipulated in the people's economy plan. The greatest progress within the sector took place in the area of precision engineering, telecommunications, and vacuum engineering. There has been a dynamic increase in the exports of electric bulbs, machine tools, agricultural machines, and buses. [Excerpt] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 86 p 1 AU] /12232

CSO: 2500/15

FISCAL POLICY CHANGES SEEN AS SOLUTION TO CRISIS

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 86 p 7

[Editorial: "How To Get Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] The prevailing belief is that prior financial consolidation of business organizations and the banks is a condition for emerging from the crisis and for any fundamental change in the economic system and economic policy. Even though the economy has after all been achieving a certain capital surplus, and even though investments in fixed capital are declining in real terms, the declining share of "own" sources in covering permanent working capital has persisted. That accounts for the growth in the total amount of short-term credits, especially those based on primary note issue, along with increases in the amount of interest paid, business costs, prices, and inflation.

The economy's circulating property is losing its value drastically. This applies both to the portion which enterprises dispose of freely and to the portion which is committed to long-term lendings. These lendings are mostly the consequence of capital savings taken away from the economy on the basis of enactments of sociopolitical communities (investments in the Federal Fund..., in republic funds, in the SIZ for Physical Production, and so on). At the same time, the economy's obligations related to long-term credits for fixed assets (dinar credits) have also been melting away, since the obligation remains the same in nominal terms. Given the present system of revaluation of capital assets, there is a direct enlargement of the business fund, so that the relative share of resources of others in sources of fixed capital have been decreasing steadily.

Even in the components of the Federal Executive Council there have been ideas about abandoning the principle of nominalism we have had up to now, about revaluing both obligations and claims arising out of long-term business relations—long-term lendings and long-term credits. Probably the measure for the revaluation would be the rate of inflation.

What does the economy get from revaluation of long-term lendings? The amount we are talking about exceeds 3,000 billion dinars deposited or invested in banks, in internal banks, in the Federal Fund for Credit Financing the Faster Development of the Underdeveloped Republics and Kosovo, in republic and

provincial funds for credit financing the more rapid development of underdeveloped opstinas, in SIZ's for physical production, in other organizations, in claims arising out of long-term credits (domestic and foreign) for goods sold on credit, including long-term consumer credits. The gain amounts to as much cash as is returned to the economy. At present practically nothing is being returned to it, but rather the claims arising out of long-term lendings have been increasing year after year. If those claims are larger tomorrow on paper, there still is no real gain whatsoever.

Do the claims against the Federal Fund and the republic and provincial funds undergo revaluation? It is well known that even today the amounts to be repaid, already devalued by inflation, are being postponed. Or again, what is the situation with investments in SIZ's for physical production? It is certain that even they cannot be revalued. Is it possible at all to revalue claims related to long-term credits extended to juridical and physical persons? Is this kind of one-sided change of a credit contract possible? Or, take deposits in commercial banks and internal banks. Those deposits can be revalued, but someone has to pay for that. Only the economy can pay through higher interest rates on credits, which given the shortage of working capital could only heat up inflation still further.

Revaluation of obligations related to long-term credits also signifies revaluation of the amounts to be repaid. The repayment of the credit would be nominally increased by the rate of inflation, and only the real interest (the real price of money) would be charged to business costs. Even though this kind of solution is quite logical, the consequences would mostly be adverse. The income of users of credit would carry a higher burden than today, since the larger repayment would be paid entirely from the business fund or from accumulation, which has already been taxed for the state and for social services as an integral part of income.

It would be very difficult in practice to carry out this kind of continuous and all-inclusive revaluation. Every revaluation is at least a two-sided relationship, and it is not easy to get the parties to agree. Another consequence is that under these conditions the dinar is losing the basic characteristics of money. Would it not be technically simpler and more comprehensible if all money transactions were conducted in some other foreign currency that is relatively stable? All will agree that that would be absurd. But is it not also absurd to assign weights to debts and claims?

It is not so tragic that thought is being given to that kind of revaluation or that projects are even being drawn up for implementing it. There is time to back off from all that. Yet the tragic thing is that proposals of this kind mean that the government has reconciled itself to galloping inflation, that it takes it for granted even in the foreseeable future. That means a blow to development, new redistributions of income, stagnation of production, and a decline in the quality of business performance.

There is no dispute that the debtor should repay the debt in its real amount, nor that the creditor must also collect in the real amount (with an addition, since the temporary relinquishment of resources must be paid for). It also

should not be debatable that the government must guarantee the relative stability of the money, since that is its task and since only the government is able to do that.

A great deal of that needs to be done to reduce inflation and to maintain the dinar's relative stability. A precondition is that the money necessary to conduct normal business (to finance inventories, but not such large inventories as today) be returned to the economy and that the functions of the National Bank of Yugoslavia be reduced to those which it has under the constitution as a government note-issuing institution. This involves immense resources; today they are probably no less than about 2,000 billion dinars. That, of course, is only the first step in financial consolidation of the The second step, which is considerably more difficult, is to assign the obligations related to foreign credits and to the foreign exchange savings of individuals exactly by name. This involves an immense amount of unidentified obligations (and where identification has been made, the debtors are unable to meet the obligations, and they are written off in various ways or exchange rate differences are diminished), which is probably no less than \$15 billion. It is primarily for that reason that we have such high inflation today--since the burden of these unidentified obligations abroad and to individuals within the country is being redistributed by inflation to a larger portion of the population, primarily those who are realizing personal incomes from employment and income from farming.

Instead of revaluation of long-term credits from domestic sources, there is a great deal of justification for passing a portion of the foreign credits directly to individual business activities and business organizations, especially those which are capital-intensive and which have been using sizable long-term credits from domestic sources and forcibly pooled resources of other business organizations. A portion of the obligation must also be passed on to the population at large through the budgets of sociopolitical communities. This presupposes an essential change in the present tax system and tax policy consistent with the principle that the tax burden should be in proportion to economic strength.

Assuming a different policy governing distribution of personal incomes, these measures would create conditions for maintaining the dinar's relative stability. This is also a precondition for any essential changes in the economic system (establishment of a different and vigorous attitude on the part of employed persons toward property and toward accumulation) and for emerging from the crisis.

7045

CSO: 2800/9

ECONOMY YUGOSLAVIA

PROBLEMS OF CREDIT-MONETARY POLICY DISCUSSED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8, 15 Sep 86

[Articles by V.Gr.]

[8 Sep 86 p 18]

[Text] The figures of the Social Accounting Service on the business performance of the economy over the first 6 months of the year show that the problem of uncovered financing of reproduction on the basis of postponed payments or mutual extension of credit within the economy has not been regulated in a systematic way. Receivables from purchasers increased 87.3 percent and reached 3,800 billion dinars, or about one-fourth of the economy's total working capital. Within that amount there were even claims which had not been secured even with bills of exchange (up 1,356 billion, or 78.5 percent). Obligations to suppliers also increased at a high rate of 90 percent, reaching 3,289 billion dinars, or 9.6 percent of all the economy's business assets. It is thought that mutual credit financing (claims against customers and obligations to suppliers) now represent the main flow of "gray" note issue, with credit obligations to the banks not being paid. Just as during the debates of bills of exchange, when their issuance without coverage was used as a pretext for anathemizing securities as such (we wrote about this in our last issue), an attempt is being made again in this case to do something similar -- on behalf of preventing uncovered mutual credit financing as a form of postponed payments an attempt is being made to reject by definition this otherwise useful form of market reestablishment of financial ties in the economy.

An attempt is being made to halt the emergence of larger payments which have been postponed by pieces of legislation through legislative coercion concerning priority payments (that is, before payment of personal incomes), and here the Social Accounting Service would see to enforcement of that regulation. Yet instilling financial discipline by law has never yielded results in similar situations. A warning has been issued that the problem of uncontrolled mutual credit financing cannot be solved by outside intervention, i.e., by establishing an order of priority for payments. Under market conditions payments are the business of work organizations, and as a rule they do not question them, since if they do so, penalties follow all the way to liquidation of those who are unable to pay. So, no one is furnishing anyone coverage in the form of a "blank" bill of exchange either by suitable note issue or through

various distributions detrimental to those who are performing well. Still, credit-monetary authorities are saying that they are helpless to do anything since it is a question of what they call an autonomous flow of note issue, which is allowed by the system ("mutual credit financing is an inalienable right of the OOUR"). The question is the extent to which credit-monetary policy would be effective in preventing this flow of gray note issue, since often the differing interests—as it is put—cannot be brought to agreement even here.

The credit limits extended by banks (at the end of July they amounted to 135 billion) which were extended to maintain the liquidity of OUR's (usually for payment of personal incomes) are considered a flow of "gray" note issue. Even in this case there have been attempts to solve the problem by eliminating this type of business in banking, but here they lost sight of the advantage which it has in the economy itself. The credit limits are used to cover the minus liquidity situations in current accounts, and the OUR's pay interest only on the part of the credit which has been used, not on the entire amount (in the system that prevails at present, the OUR's giro account pays interest on the entire credit, since it must always hold back a certain amount of credit.

Once again a legislative attempt has been made to avoid the danger of this credit financing through credit limits to escape the control of credit-monetary policy by including these credits in the general limits on bank lendings. But that still does not mean that the banks are put in a position of making independent decisions concerning these credits and that they will bear the risk on unsuccessful credit financing.

The credit financing which the banks do as a commission transaction is also classified in the group of "all" flows of note issue, often without terminological clarification as to what these commission jobs actually mean. Through them the banks act as intermediaries in extending credit on someone else's account; in our case these are usually what is referred to as pooling for investment in priority branches of the economy (fuel and energy, the highways, metallurgy, etc.) and behind them stand real resources which have been furnished, mostly assembled by sociopolitical communities, and then they also include deposits of individuals and the like. To be sure, here again it is a question of secondary note issue through credit (cheaper because of the lower rates of interest). This, of course, generates a need for it to be included in the regular calculation of credit-monetary policy and perhaps also for security to cover its market lending. That is why it has been proposed that this treatment be given to deposits of sociopolitical communities in the national banks which have been the basis for issuing credit in the amount of 180 billion dinars, or 40 percent of the annual primary note issue planned.

This does not exhaust all the flows of "gray" note issue, since this group also would certainly include the total amount of uncollected credits and interest, dinar resources not posted to cover foreign exchange which has been purchased, and so on.

[15 Sep 86 pp 14-15]

[Text] Interest rates on deposits in banks will most probably not change before the end of this year. To be sure, on the basis of reports of the Association of Yugoslav Banks there are those who think the opposite and who advocate a further driving down of interest rates regardless of the movement of prices, but the assumption is that the ultimate compromise position will be for the national bank not to change the discount rate, which otherwise serves as a basis for setting the level of interest rates on deposits in the banking industry. So, for the present there can be no discussion of real interest rates or at least of rates approximating that level as an instrument for preventing money property from losing its value. Possibly the banks could raise interest rates on credits in order to cover the costs which they incur on the basis of exchange rate differences.

A New Model

The policy of real interest rates would be possible next year. To that end a new revaluation model for setting real interest rates is being proposed in the components of the FEC. The new model presupposes introduction of the principle of revaluation, i.e., of compensating the devalued money values, that is, the principal of deposits in banks. The interest rate would through that revalued amount represent a real gain for the depositor, and for all practical purposes the user of the credit would pay that gain out of his own income. There are significant differences among the advocates of the new model over how it should be applied: by indexing repayments of principal related to long-term credits or by increasing the debtors' obligations in view of the inflationary gains they have realized. The first method presupposes a vigorous role on the part of monetary policy, which would automatically revalue the credits of banks (the yardstick would be the rate of inflation), but it is unacceptable since it would mean that the government is taking up revaluation as a permanent phenomenon by guaranteeing coverage of inflation. Representatives of the IMF also did not agree with this system of indexing; they feel that inflation ultimately acts as a disincentive on exports, the inflow of foreign exchange, and maintenance of external liquidity (adjustment of the exchange rate of the dinar and furnishing export incentives come later by way of compensation).

The alternative is for the borrowers (the economy and individuals) to cover the revaluation in its entirety or in part on the principle of what are referred to as progressively larger annual amounts of repayment of principal, since under present conditions they are realizing inflationary gains in the course of the repayment period. The problem, however, is that users did not count on the possibility of revaluation when they took the credit, and they perceive it—regardless of the inflationary gains—as an attack on income after the fact. This especially affects users of long—term housing credits who feel among other things that the revaluation would place them in an unequal position compared to the tenants of socially owned housing units, who are paying rents below the economic level. Second, it is a problem that credit contracts have not made provision for revaluation, and to simply change them (without consent of the borrower) would signify disruption of the legal security guaranteed by the constitution and laws concerning contract obligations.

Given these opposed interests with respect to revaluing credit, a compromise solution is possible that would divide the burden. Part would be borne by borrowers in that they would consent to meeting the agreed credit obligations ahead of schedule (for them this would be a better solution than revaluing the credits during the repayment period), and part would be the burden of the government. It is possible for governments to relinquish their own revenues for those purposes (taxes, contributions, and the like), but in view of their oversized budgets, the chances of obtaining sizable amounts are not great. Which is why it is not impossible that monetary policy will retain its role, perhaps not in its present scope, in this area of resolving the financial problems of the banks.

[Box, p 14]

Objections of the IMF

Following expiration of what is called the standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund Yugoslavia did not have firmly assumed obligations with respect to conducting credit-monetary policy and interest rate policy, but was required to fulfill two conditions: to maintain the proportions in the balance of payments that had been adopted (a surplus in the balance of payments) and to replenish foreign exchange reserves to the agreed level of \$2.3 billion. But even this separation of these two essential segments of economic policy into the part that is mandatory and the part that is not suggest the possibility of adoption of measures not related to one another, which in practice would signify announcement of the failure to achieve the goals, including the goal of the surplus in the balance of payments, which is one of the prerequisites for maintaining external liquidity of the country and security in meeting the payments as they come due, interest payments above all. To be sure, Yugoslavia has maintained external liquidity, but with occasional delays in the payment of obligations.

In its report to that institution's board of directors the IMF mission cited as the main impediment to achieving the goals of our policy related to augmenting exports and reducing inflation the excessive "relaxation" of creditmonetary policy and interest rate policy: first because by allowing excessive monetary and credit expansion it had "created" excessive domestic demand (rather than export demand), which cannot be covered by domestic and foreign commodity stocks, and second because by driving down nominal interest rates it acted as a disincentive on saving (accumulation) and made it pay to take credits from the banks.

7045

CSO: 2800/2

OUTMODED PARTY RULE SAID TO PREVENT ECONOMIC ADVANCE

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 86 pp 20-23

[Article by Dragan Veselinov: "The Party: Between the Old and New Style of Power"; first paragraph is EKONOMSKA POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Does the parallel decisionmaking with which the party exhaustively covers the entire government system stimulate or hamper the optimality and efficiency of the economic mechanism? A fetish grew out of the initial efficiency of industrialization to the effect that the economy had finally been mastered by the party. Can that same type of party organization offer the same effectiveness in serving "socialist self-management democracy" as it did in serving centralism?

The present organization of all communist parties in power dates strictly from 1921. Thus even the fundamental principles of the Bylaws of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are not an independent achievement of the social climate of southern Europe, but represent the adopted pattern of the Bolshevik party. Since Otto Kuusinen, leader of an unsuccessful revolution in Finland, who was secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, drafted the general communist bylaws with Lenin's approval, and since it was adopted at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, not a single party in power has even today mustered the strength to abandon it.

After the Comintern was abolished in 1943 and after the end of World War II the various parties became more politically autonomous than they had been with respect to the former Comintern supreme command headquarters of the world revolution and with respect to Moscow, but all the parties retained that Moscow core in their bylaws. The task of the parties was to penetrate the factories, the farms, the government and administrative offices, the schools and university, armed forces, and police. Within them-by contrast with all other parties—they create organizational cells, they choose internal secretaries as leaders, and they select their factory committee. Then the local committees (village or city committees) grow out of those cells, and the opstina and then district committees grow out of the latter, all the way up to the Central Committee and its Politburo, above which there remains only the Congress.

The backbone of the power of the communist parties is in fact located in their organization in factories, schools, and government bodies and agencies. They

bring the activities of those employed in those bodies around to their own interests, taking them further away from loyalty to the legal aims of the government. That is why communist revolutions do not constitute a mere taking of power at the top of the government, but an effective putsch from below through a parallel machine of invisible government. And the wartime support of various social classes broadened the taking over the state into a movement toward reform of "all" social relations.

However, after power is taken, not a single party has renounced the organization whereby it took command of the state and which primarily served it, as conceived by the Comintern, as a means of achieving that goal. At that point a dilemma arose: Was that old party organization, which was suitable for taking government power, also suitable for a socialist system without government power, a system in which all authority would be dying out, or wasn't it? And, which at the time was considered even more important, is such a party structure capable in general of stimulating modern economic development? The answer was this: yes, it was suitable. After all, it was felt at the time that the very change in the role of the party under peaceful conditions would diminish the importance of the kind of organization it had at the time. Stated in strong terms, this means that the role of the party was taken to be everything, and the organization taken to be nothing.

The Essence of the Party's Power

Is that an immense illusion, and is it perhaps not true that the petrified style of the party's existence represents the principal blockade to the present-day reform of socialism? Can it be conceived that the party would leave the factories, offices, universities, armed forces, secret agencies, and so on—without threatening the intensity of its responsibility for implementing the idea of socialism, which up to now it has been unable to perform without having the final say in day—to—day matters and holding the ultimate power in the factory, the opstina, and the state?

Perhaps this could be imagined, but this then certainly presupposes the offering of a concept that would be accepted not only because of its external intellectual attractiveness, but also because of the exceedingly acute domestic needs of the economy and political ferment, even though it would destroy the existing organizational structure of the party and the interests which it has been pursuing through it. That concept would have to offer the social classes and party rank and file more than they are gaining from the present system: expansive creation of new jobs, total health and old-age security, a guaranteed minimum of consumption, a tranquilizing equality of personal incomes and leveling as to housing, the privileged political status and privileged hiring of party members, gratis use of factory offices and city offices for party meetings and administration of the economy and management of social processes, a high degree of security of party members as to their careers in all government services, and so on.

The secret of the power of the communist parties is certainly to be found in ideology as well, with which they have so far been successfully winning over, first, the lower-level conformist aspirations of the former subjugated classes—

a majority of the population, but their effectiveness in governing is based on the organizational existence of party members at all those points in the economic and political system where official decisions are being made.

All the other parties rely on enactment of parliamentary decisions and on their implementation through the system of government agencies, but the communist parties make decisions at absolutely all points of official decisionmaking (in the factory, the local community, social service agencies, the government agencies in the civil service, field and staff units of the armed forces, the police, and the secret service). Their decisions are either prior to the official ones, or they are after-the-fact and corrective in nature; in any case the parties have built up a parallel system of decisionmaking whereby they exhaustively cover the entire government system and control it. In that system the party is stronger than the state regardless of the form of a socialist country's political system.

This is in line with party doctrine to the effect that it and not the government represents the will of the people—which is why not a one of them is subject to the oversight of the Assembly as the "supreme body of government." The Assembly is an external organ of the party for the purpose of government administration, it serves as a technical implement for nationwide administration, since there can no longer be the alienated intermediary of the state that once existed between the party and the people. From the standpoint of its influence, the state can be taken as representing the party.

The immense prestige of the successful Bolshevik revolution contributed to the growing belief that the organizational form of the Bolshevik Communist Party was an independent and general model for taking power effectively in all latitudes.

The subsequent use of the party organization for rigid control of the political disposition of various strata of the population, for degradation of all the inherited civil liberties, for the undertaking of unprecedented and magnificent industrial undertakings in which millions of people and entire nationalities were tragically sacrificed—did not particularly contribute to reassessment of the origin of the character of the bylaws of the European communist parties. Not a single one opened itself up to the question that might have been asked: In taking over the model of the party from the Bolsheviks, did they also take over the invisible limit on the social reform of socialism in Europe, Asia, and Yugoslavia?

The Role of the Party and the Organization

It would not be easy to prove that the present old organization of the party, indeed not even that of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, fails to correspond to conceptions of Communists concerning the way in which the current version of socialism can be "built." All the communist parties take as their point of departure the obligation which is a point of doctrine that they draw up and carry out a concept of social disalienation from the economy, politics, law, and the state, which imposes a maximum demand for party members to exercise general day-to-day discretionary powers at all points of influence and decisionmaking.

Since all these traditional areas then lose the forms they have had up until that time, their autonomous goals, and the criteria of their successful performance, the party must make up for them by proclaiming a new system of social division of labor and a new system for determining the consistency of everyday practice with the meaning of that historical discontinuity.

As soon as one imagines abolishing those social relations whose ties have been made possible by goods, by money, by the enterprise, by politics, and by the state, then a historical alternative must be offered—but then that alternative must necessarily be under control of the party, since only the party knows the secret as to how to turn the historical condition in the direction in which it itself is supposedly moving unconsciously. Since the meaning of social development since the Neolithic has been revealed solely to the party, only it can render judgment as to the degree to which new constitutions, laws, economic processes, the political system, the attitudes of intellectuals, artistic genres, and so on, are in touch with the objective efforts of history.

The Politicization of the Economy

If there is competition among communist parties, then from the standpoint of pure doctrine it should exist only concerning "construction of the new relations." The fetish of publishing the physical achievements of the socialist states in tons and cubic meters is a reduction of the revolution to physical demonstration of its justifiability instead of referring to the quality of transitional relations, consciousness, and art. The prevailing position in theory is that the character of socialism does not lie in copying the industrial results of Europe, but in an inspiration as to the noncontradictory relations among individuals, while at the same time those relations are altogether complete in their comprehensiveness.

When the revolutionary parties took power in Russia, Yugoslavia, and China, they were unable to neglect the interests of the population as consumers—but their concept of the organization of the party also imposed a corresponding economic policy. After all, if economic misery and social crisis made it possible for those parties to come to power through organizational penetration into all official points of influence, then the abandonment of all those points following the revolution, especially those in the factories and government services, would represent a ruination of the parties below the level at which they took control of society and would constitute a direct threat to the authority just acquired.

The party was unable to renounce that organization which took it to the top so as not to risk it on behalf of that version of socialism which would have no concern for this irrecoverable loss.

The Bolshevik organization of the party then proved not only exceptionally successful in taking over the state, but also because of its depth in the field it doubled security in carrying out economic policy and the notions of the theoreticians shaping a new society like patternmakers. Nevertheless, although the unusually rapid industrialization of the USSR and Yugoslavia—as the quantitative result of an unprecedented heroism and sacrifices on the part

of the people--would not have been possible without that unknown strength of the party, which was new, it worked only because the primitive accumulation of Europe's capital was being repeated in those areas of the continent which had not yet been affected. And primitive accumulation is not so much the result of "economic laws" as of the political coercion of the state in the economy, which has no stronger final criteria of its performance than the promotion of those functions of the state themselves and the status of the ruling political stratum.

The party had to carry it out in the interest of the population as a body of consumers, but this also guaranteed it the belief that its first political arrangement of the economy and society, which in actuality was archicapitalist, provided lasting evidence that in its consciousness it had mastered historical progress and that the economy and its functionaries had lost their decisive autonomous action in the present-day division of labor. The more effective repetition of the first success of capitalism gave rise to the fetish that the party had finally mastered the economy and that the organization of the party in the field was a general condition for each successive "stage" of socialist development (the terms "phase" and "stage" leave the impression of a scientific mode of expression—as though society had a ladder that it "naturally" climbed toward completion of the final task which had been placed upon it by the spirit of history and which had been revealed in the literature and its party).

The coincidence of that political intervention with the new perpetual and conscious character of socialism was derived from the misfortune of the revolution that it had to repeat the horrors of capitalist accumulation. It seems this character was by way of reward and mistakenly thought to be that positive subjectivity which had been sought in theory and which turns all the achievements of the past to the benefit of the everyday will of social classes and of their future intentions.

Self-Management and the Party

The Yugoslav version of self-management has to do with a decentralistic organization of the government and the economic system, not with changes in the pattern of the party organization and the foundations upon which party power is built.

Self-management would have no right to be referred to as socialist solely because it is a particular form of decentralized system by contrast with other present-day organizations of society, nor indeed even because it has been narrowed on behalf of a vague and outdated ouvrierist (working class) concept of socialism—but solely when through it all social forces come together in criticizing the economy, politics, law, anthropology, and philosophy.

Marx's self-management, which was never pithily formulated, is a breaking up of the traditional society and science on behalf of freedom, on behalf of emancipation from all the previous "laws" of society and of its thought which had not been made conscious. Science needed only to take note of them; it is an activity of the spirit imposed, but then the liberated consciousness rejects it just as it has rejected the entire tortured and outdated society.

The subsequent immoderate scientistic position which Engels took after Marx's death, to the effect that socialism is in fact a science and does in fact represent a scientifically organized community, takes society back to the condition of being enslaved, subjugated to the unfreedom of external laws. On that point, I deeply believe, he failed disastrously to maintain Marx's level.

All the communist parties in power today say that their social systems are saturated with scientific justification and historical objectivity. From Marx's viewpoint this is the last reason in the world for them to use expressions such as the "socialist state," "socialist self-management," "socialist commodity production," "socialist ethics," and so on. But those systems do not constitute Engelsian scientism either!

Yugoslavia has no published theory of its "self-management system," since it is mostly made up of authorized discussions of theoreticians who because they are always so busy, as a logical consequence of the system, do not have the strength to bind them together into a coherent position which with its radical quality would repel the resistance of all the preexisting attainments of the social sciences.

Within the Yugoslav party it is significant that at one and the same time it justifies its self-management: first, by the necessary adaptations of society to the external impositions of the economy and technology, which are independent of the will of the party--but whose purport has by its local theoretical efforts been recognized at the level of a world obligation; and second, that in spite of those necessities it is also possible to use that same party in the other direction so that the population, thanks to that same system of self-management, would also be freed from that same externally imposed mode of alienated existence of the economy, the government system, politics and the class enemy, accounting, and so on.

The intellectual body of the political history of self-management of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is made up of proportions of these two approaches. Carried to the end, they are mutually exclusive, although it also seems that their separate final consequences contradict Marxist anthropological humanism: the first emphasizes adaptation to unfreedom, and the second takes political arbitrariness to the extreme.

An Unchangeable Organization

Yugoslav socialist self-management promotes that conception of freedom and that social practice which is confined to the limits of consciousness of the Communist Party and maintenance of the superiority of its political influence. Numerous changes in the system of government and the economic system have taken place without changes in almost 8 decades in the old party organization if one counts from the first Bolshevik structure.

Changes in the bylaws in the Yugoslav party have undertaken a redistribution of power from the Central Committee and Politburo on behalf of the national committees and their politburos, all the way to opstina conferences and their local components at an even lower level. Other changes have had to do with

the secularization of membership in the party, changes in the decisionmaking procedure, and the internal punitive procedure.

The League of Communists has decentralized its internal authority, but it has retained all the external positions of control over the cells of the social organization of labor. In addition, not only has it been using the piety of science to protect its concept of society, but it has proclaimed that conceptual ideological consciousness as a legal and legislative obligation.

The party immediately dissolved its organizational bodies when it dissolved the entire organization of society through the constitutional reforms, but it then immediately recreated them in all the new organizational bodies of the economy and political system.

The principle of the organization of the party thereby remained unchanged: always it covers all the decisive points of decisionmaking with its parallel network in factories, local communities, and public services, and it strives to make public decisionmaking a copy of its own positions. The system may be either centralistic or decentralistic, still the party wishes, through its omnipresence as an observer, to guide it consistent with its "leading role." The system's organizational principles may change, but not the organizational principles of the party.

Self-Management Democracy

If the organizational principles of the party have not changed, yet, it is asserted, there has been a change in its role. This means that the position is being taken that the same type of party organization serves with equal effectiveness both the socialist centralism of state capitalism (this is Bukharin's, not Lenin's expression) and "socialist self-management democracy."

What is self-management democracy? It is a new intensity of drawing the classes of society into deliberation of the issues of social development, and at the same time it is higher than any other level of development of the systems of the present-day states in the world, but at the same time it does not violate the conceptual domination of the party, nor its political influence.

The value of the present Yugoslav economic system indeed lies in the fact that it has done away with the previous, almost legislated, obligation of its enterprises and government bodies to automatically follow the decisions of their respective party bodies concerning the economic policy that lies within their jurisdiction. However, in the subsequent "self-management" the party did not withdraw its organization from those places, nor did it renounce its role as final arbiter, although it performs that role with incomparably more flexibility.

Thus even today in settlements with a population from 20 to 1.5 million it controls personnel, investments, prices, and distribution of the respective economy. In a small city of some 60,000 inhabitants it can bring under party leadership not only the business operation of the entire internal economy, but also that of worldwide companies using that opstina only as a storage point in their operations, not for some parallel business board.

Is it possible for the party to withdraw from its organizational positions in that structure of economic and government decisionmaking? Or is the question unjustified by very definition?

The Fight of the Party Against "Antiself-Management Forces"

If self-management is supposed to mean a form whereby all ideological consciousness and political domination is superseded, then the position of the party toward it would be untenable, it would have to be its greatest enemy. However, until such time as philosophy clears that up, so that organized politics could be eliminated in an organized nonpolitical way, the party has the right to exist—although this does not mean that it is also effective in administering a modern traditional economy.

Indeed even by definition it cannot administer it effectively, and it seems that it must from time to time even fall into a strategic crisis—but that is not fundamental proof of the superfluity of the Communist Party, but of the outdatedness of its present form of existence.

If the party's aim at this juncture is through its half-educated theoreticians, who have never understood even the fundamental utopist-Hegelian position of Marxism (they infectedly babble the Eastern doctrine about Marxian materialism), nor have they understood that Marxism is a positive critical negation of all sciences and of philosophy--to invent self-management socialism "scientifically" and to nervously change it every 10 years, then it is itself producing both its own opponents and additional reasons for preservation of its organizational structure and political positions. Precisely the more it desires to produce a strongly founded "scientific socialism," the more it creates its own artificial enemies and political opposition from all social classes!

The party does, of course, have its old political opponents by the very fact that they do not have its power and they are in principle against any concept of socialism, but it seems that it itself, its "scientific" socialist system, its artifact, is directly producing the main body of its opponents at the present time! And this convinces it of what is perhaps precisely the opposite of real needs, this persuades it that it is necessary in order to unshakingly adhere to its old Bolshevik organizational structures, which are always ready for battle, in order to survive this class struggle which is imposed and which is completely new! At this point it distances itself infinitely from someone, but always within its own harmonic concept!

When the party "scientifically" conceives the self-management economic system, then this takes away the existential meaning of all those present-day categories of the economy which resist the construction: social ownership, distribution of functions, and the imagined structure of relations from the OOUR to the SOUR, a consensus economy between supply and demand, the drive for pooling powered by the phantasmagoria of universal income accounting, distribution according to work on a 1:4 basis, the appointment of directors of worldwide companies in small opstina assemblies, and so on.

All of a sudden the party is tilting against a host of technocrats, bureaucrats, liberals, managers, vacillators of all kinds, collective ownership, the cooperative, the economic functions of decisionmakers, the salash and the peasant farm, and so on—against everything which outside the borders of Yugoslavia is not de facto a hindrance to the economy, but is a form of its advancement.

Overnight the list of new enemies is becoming so long that there is nothing left for the party to do but to raise up its entire membership to hold perpetual meetings and wage war against a normal state of affairs and the motives that lie behind the development of an ordinary European economy.

A Model of the Adversary

Its descriptions of who is a technocrat and who is a bureaucrat are out of touch with the definitions adopted in the past. Now a technocrat is no longer the one who with the outlook of an engineer looks upon the economic organization of the enterprise as he would on some mechanical system, and the bureaucrat is not someone who restricts the breadth of entrepreneurial decisionmaking on behalf of the idea of an obedient civil service, but rather a technocrat is now the person who does not allow the real antiliberalism of caucuses of employees to take command of the professional orders of the engineers, and the managerial bureaucrat is now the professional manager who did not put development of the new self-management relations and subservience to the committee ahead of the enterprise's money policy.

To be sure, the party rightly takes issue with that first version of the technobureaucrat as well, but then it is only a traditional European protest party, but for it the enemy of society is now the person who has distanced himself from the elements of a hastily formulated scientific "self-management."

The more it imagines that kind of self-management, the more it will get barriers which are not imagined, but real. Its detailist field organization will be given an artificial justification for its existence, and it will operate on its own, even without being given any reason at all. Thus the party is hardening in the same structural form, it is becoming petrified in the Asiatic way, and it is preparing for a 1,000-year war. Which it will be fighting with its own shadow.

Are There Solutions

It is not impossible to hypothesize that a present-day communist party will not lose power if it withdraws its old Moscow organization from the depth of the field, but rather that it will retain it and improve it. Retaining that old form, by contrast, even if no role whatsoever is played by any model of an elaborate socialist society, adversely affects the holding of power just as much as the adverse effect of that planned society. Was Schumpeter right when he said that "one can hardly imagine a socialist society...without an immense bureaucratic apparatus managing the process of production and the distribution of goods, a bureaucracy which for its part may or may not be under control of the bodies of political democracy such as we have today"?

Was Keynes right when he said that he "did not object to state socialism for trying to harness the altruistic aspirations of the little man for social ends, or because it is abandoning laissez-faire, or because it takes away from the individual a part of his freedom in order to perform miracles, or because it has the courage for large experiments. All of this I approve. I object to it because it does not understand what is actually happening, because it is nothing other than a remnant of a dusty blueprint dating back some 50 years and which was then set up on false premises which someone expounded 100 years earlier"?

Both famous theoreticians would be surprised today to see the devastation which the Yugoslav state has suffered at the center, and some of that they perhaps would have to applaud, but they would certainly be astounded by the horrifying burden of governmentalized party functions which the League of Communists, because of the enormous number of small intellectual values of "socialist self-management," it must arbitrarily assume.

The inroads of the crisis in Yugoslavia is placing the party at a crossroads: Will it continue with its pure political pressures for improvement of the agreed scientific socialism: in which as it moves further away from the real European economy and turns society into an extended conference in the fight against opponents it has produced itself, but also the authentic forces of development—with the risk of a civil conflict; or will it strive to understand party rule even through an always—flexible party organizational structure whose purpose would be to stimulate all social autonomies in conformity with their own criteria of development, which are also autonomous, not those of the party; and in which it itself would set the limit on this kind of socialism, which it would protect from outside?

This is not to threaten the one-party system, but to ask whether that party which by its authority wants to eliminate the sharing of power with all other parties through a general development program shouldn't for that very reason have a hundred times more flexible organization than it does so that it might defeat the upstarts within it by virtue of its power to maneuver? Perhaps this is not possible, but has any old communist party at least attempted it?

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CSO: 2800/8

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON PPR'S MESSNER VISIT TO HUNGARY

AU090516 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Sep 86 p 3

[MTI report: "Joint Communique on Zbigniew Messner's Visit"]

[Text] At the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, paid an official and friendly visit to Hungary 4-5 September.

Zbigniew Messner was received by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP.

The chairman of the PPR Council of ministers laid a wreath at the monument of Hungarian heroes and visited the Zoldmezo agricultural cooperative at Vacszentlaszlo. The heads of government informed each other about the achievements of socialist construction, as well as about the implementation of decisions made by the 13th MSZMP and 10th PZPR Congresses. They exchanged views on further developing bilateral relations and on current issues in the international situation.

They stated with satisfaction that Hungarian-Polish cooperation was developing in all fields in the spirit of traditional friendship, on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and according to mutual interests. They spoke out for developing relations further and extensively.

They stressed that the regular meetings between Janos Kadar and Wojciech Jaruzelski have a significant role in increasing the friendly relations of the two peoples and the cooperation of the two countries.

They expressed their satisfaction at the consistent implementation of the comprehensive program for the period between 1984-90 regarding further developments in the relations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the PPR.

Gvorgy Lazar and Zbigniew Messner positively evaluated the prospects of economic cooperation and its further development. The goods turnover of the two countries increased from 658 million rubles in 1981 to 1.087 billion rubles in 1985. Important inter-governmental agreements have been signed in the fields of delivering buses, wheat, sulphur, and other raw and basic materials.

Long-term trade agreements were signed based on the coordination of plans for the period between 1986-90. In the current 5-year plan period the total amount of mutual deliveries of goods will amount to 6.3 billion rubles.

The prime ministers stressed the great significance of the work for long-term prospects in cooperation, which is carried out to expand the comprehensive program and to set out the tasks up to the turn of the century. Deputy Premiers Jozsef Marjai and Jozef Koziol, co-chairman of the Hungarian-Polish Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation, signed the work schedule for implementing the economic chapters of the comprehensive program which serve the development of relations. The joint plan covers the long-term tasks related to the mining and energy sectors, the manufacture of new materials and components, the sector of vehicles for public transport, electronics and robotization, pharaceutical production, pesticides and plastic materials, as well as biotechnology.

Both the Hungarian and the Polish sides deemed extremely important the cooperation in scientific and technological development, as well as in specialization and cooperation in production. This year they signed a program on technological and scientific cooperation for the years 1986-90 and decided about priority issues.

Several still valid agreements and contracts have been extended on the basis of the coordinated program for specialization and cooperation and decisions have been made to expand the scope of these contracts. The two sides underlined the importance of achievements in the fields of vehicle produciton, electronics, and in engineering and the chemical industry. They evaluated the cooperation as being active in mining, in the energy and metallurgy sectors, as well as in agriculture and the food industry.

The prime ministers consider it necessary soon to begin preparations for an intergovernmental agreement concerning the principles of joint activities by enterprises and organizations, as well as on the direct cooperation of Hungarian-Polish enterprises, academic research and planning institutes, and other organizations; this coordination is deemed above all important in electronics, electrical engineering, computer science, the sector of vehicles for public transport, in some special branches of the chemical industry—including pharmaceutical production—as well as in domestic trade.

They confirmed that in increasing economic relations, a great and active role is being fulfilled by the Hungarian-Polish Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

Gyorgy Lazar and Zbigniew Messner disussed the achievements made so far in the implementation of the comprehensive cooperation program and in other fields.

Both parties underlined the importance they attach to the cooperation of public and mass organizations, to direct exchanges among countries, towns, and factories, and to the maintenance and expansion of relations in the fields of tourism and sports affairs.

The heads of government expressed their anxiety at the dangers and tensions still existing in the international atmosphere, which are due to the efforts of

the most aggressive imperialist circles—above all of the United States—10 attain military superiority over the Warsaw Pact member—states and heightening the arms race.

They confirmed their strong conviction to do their best to arrive at a positive turn in the international situation, halting the arms race on earth and preventing its extension into space, staving off the danger of a nuclear war, and achieving disarmament.

They reconfirmed their support for the program proposed in January 1986 by the Soviet Union to totally eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons by the turn of this century. They stressed the timeliness of the very significant proposals made by the Warsaw Pact member-states at the June session of the Political Consultative Committee to significantly reduce European armed forces and conventional weapons.

According to the judgment of the two parties, it would be a decisive step forward in preventing the nuclear arms race if the United States followed the example of the Soviet Union and stopped thermonuclear explosions.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the PPR are striving for the establishment of such a comprehensive system of international security and cooperation which would cover the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian fields alike.

The two governments firmly support the continuation of dialogues between states with different social systems in order to serve the cause of peace, disarmament, and detente.

Gyorgy Lazar and Zbigniew Messner stressed that to show unconditional respect for the inviolability of the territorial and political reality resulting from World War II and the post war years is the fundamental condition for creating an atmosphere of confidence, working in constructive cooperation, and safeguarding peace. In this respect they condemn the manifestation of dangerous activities by well-known revanchist forces.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the PPR attach special significance to the strengthening of the alliance of friendship among the Warsaw Pact member-states, enforcing their joint foreign political stance, and realizing the dynamic development process of socialist economic integration among the states grouped in CEMA.

In order to increase the positive processes in international affairs, they are striving to achieve results as soon as possible at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and weapons in central Europe, as well as at the stockholm conference on confidence and disarmament on confidence-building measures in Europe. The two heads of government confirmed the deepest interest of their states in further expanding the process of European confidence-building and cooperation. Both the Hungarian People's Republic and the PPR will continue their activities in this spirit at the Vienna session of the conference for European security and cooperation.

They adopted positions on using political methods to solve the conflicts and hotbeds of tension that exist in the Near and Middle East, in Central America, and in other areas of the world. This will, to a great extent, contribute to an improvement in the international atmosphere.

They advocated an increase in the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace, in halting the arms race, in disarmament, and in solving the global problems of mankind.

The talks, conducted in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, were characterized by completely identical views and mutual understanding, and they contributed to the strengthening of the many-sided cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the PPR and to increasing the friendship among the two peoples.

Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, invited the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic to visit Poland. Gyorgy Lazar accepted the invitation with pleasure.

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GDR, HUNGARIAN COUNCILS OF MINISTERS HEADS TRADE TOASTS

GDR's Willi Stoph

AU111709 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Sep 86 p 3

["Toast by Willi Stoph" at a banquet given for Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, on 9 September in East Berlin]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, dear Hungarian comrades and friends:

It is a great pleasure for me that you, dear Comrade Lazar, and the comrades accompanying you are our guests today.

Our first talks have already confirmed that good friends are meeting here, friends who have been closely linked for decades. Our friendship has deep roots in the joint struggles of the German and Hungarian workers movement. We are proud that these revolutionary traditions are reflected and affirmed in the manifold, daily cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples.

I recall with pleasure my stay in Budapest 2 years ago and our fruitful exchange of opinions.

Development Plan Outlines Prospects Up To The Year 2000

Our current meeting, dear Comrade Lazar, provides us with the opportunity to take stock of the achievements reached since then and, at the same time, to discuss the further tasks resulting for us from the agreements concluded between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Janos Kadar about a year ago.

Here I am thinking mainly of the long-term program for developing economic and scientific-technological cooperation, which outlines the prospects of our cooperation in important areas up to the turn of the millennium.

Thus, in our talks we will pay due attention to the expansion of our cooperation in the economy, science, and technology since this is the determining factor for the dynamism of our further progress. This deepens our bilateral relations and at the same time contributes to consolidating the community of socialist states.

Dear comrades and friends; everyone of us knows that we can harvest the fruits of our efforts only if it is possible—together with all forces of peace, reason, and realism—to banish the danger of war and to bring about a change for the better in the international situation.

It is now 11 years since Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stated at the forum of the 35 states in Helsinki that "It is our aim to banish forever aggression and war from the life of the European peoples and states." This applies today as it did before.

In view of the threat which is faced particularly by the peoples of our continent through the nuclear arms race, stoked by the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO, and through the accumulation of inconceivable amounts of weapons, it becomes more clear than ever that there is no acceptable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

This makes all states and their representatives bear the high responsibility of preventing a nuclear inferno. Our peace policy clearly shows that the states of the socialist community are living up to this responsibility.

The proposals of the Soviet Union and the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact states provide a comprehensive disarmament program that comprises any kind of weapon and that shows a way—immediately acceptable for everyone—to cross the threshold to the third millennium without nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

The GDR logically supports this grand peace concept with all available means.

GDR Acts In Line With Its Historic Duty

Based on the firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, we direct our efforts toward continuing the businesslike, result-oriented dialogue with all responsible politicians and forces, agreeing on effective steps of arms control and disarmament and toward cooperation instead of confrontation. Thus, the GDR acts in line with its historic duty to do everything so that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace.

Dear comrades and friends; at the People's Chamber elections last June the people of the GDR made a clear avowal to the policy of our state as approved by the 11th SED Party Congress last April. Encouraged by the continuation of the tested unity of economic and social policy, the working people have started to tackle ambitious tasks with many initiatives and remarkable labor feats.

The pulse of our economy, which is the main field of struggle in social development, is beating strongly.

This is clearly shown by the plan fulfillment of this year's first 8 months, which has been able to achieve a further performance increase.

Unshakable Alliance With The USSR

The unshakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries has been, is, and remains a secure guarantee for successfully solving all tasks that we set for ourselves—no matter how complicated they are. We

want to and will utilize our national potentials better and better and tap new possibilities for strengthening socialism by improving cooperation in CEMA, by implementing the comprehesive program for scientific and technical progress through the year 2000.

For this purpose we proceed from the premise that our cooperation will increasingly be characterized by the necessities of intensification, in particular by the development and application of key technologies.

Dear Comrade Lazar, dear Hungarian comrades; from many meetings with our Hungarian fellow fighters we know very well that the Hungarian workers, cooperative peasants, and members of the socialist intelligentsia have made the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Party Congress the guidelines of their actions.

Talks Serve The Steady Consolidation of Relations

This reflects the close relationship of trust between party and people. Rest assured, dear friends and comrades, that we are sincerely pleased about all the socialist achievements in your country. Therefore, our best wishes go with you for new successes in building the developed socialist society.

Dear comrades; today's meeting, too, confirms that the overall cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples is running smoothly and that such talks always give new stimuli to the steady consolidation of relations and to friendship.

In this spirit I ask you to raise your glasses and drink with me

- --to our Marxist-Leninist parties, their Central Committees, and their general secretaries, Comrades Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar;
- --to the friendship and fraternal cooperation linking our states and peoples;
- --to the tested militant alliance with the Soviet Union and the further flour-ishing of all socialist countries;
- -- to peace in the world;
- --to your health, dear Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, and the health of all Hungarian comrades and friends present here!

Hungary's Gyorgy Lazar

AU121710 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Sep 86 p 3

[Toast given by Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, at dinner given in his honor by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in Berlin on 9 September]

[Text] Dear Comrade Stoph! Dear Comrades! Dear Friends!

By conveying cordial greetings from MSZMP Central Committee, personal greetings from Comrade Janos Kadar, and the congratulations of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, I want to sincerely thank you for the invitation, the cordial reception, and the hospitality granted to us since our arrival. I want to express my thanks in particular for the praise for the Hungarian People's Republic, for the results of our people in building socialism, and for our friendship.

We have come to your beautiful capital to evaluate the development of the relations between our two countries in the past period and to also determine the further joint tasks. I am convinced that our work will be successful and that our talks will contribute to further deepening our multifaceted and fruitful cooperation, to strengthening the friendship between our two peoples in building socialism.

Dear Comrade Stoph! We are pleased and satisfied to note that the fraternal GDR has developed dynamically and achieves ever new successes in building socialism.

A Firm Support of Socialism

The 11th SED Congress held in April this year once again proves that the first worker-peasant state on German soil is a firm pillar of socialism, peace, and progress. Your party congress, which was able to report results recognized worldwide, has set attractive aims and has given your people a challenging program for further building socialism. We sincerely wish you to achieve further successes in making your socialist home country flourishing through implementing the party congress resolutions.

In both your country and our country, socialist construction work is being implemented successfully. In connection with the aims of the MSZMP Congress held last year our work concentrates on economic tasks. We try to create the preconditions for the more rapid advance on the path of intensive development through mobilizing our internal reserves, through more efficient work, through better utilizing the possibilities of technical progress and socialist economic integration. All this is necessary in order to make progress, both in strengthening the equilibrium of the national economy and in improving the living conditions of our people.

The tasks that have been set are real but their implementation calls for great efforts and a radical improvement in the quality of our work. Therefore, we decided to continue the modernization of our economic management system in accordance with the new higher demands and taking into account our national conditions, and to give even greater attention than so far to the international experiences of socialist construction, as well as the utilization of the advantages of cooperation within CEMA. We are striving to succeed in having socialist democracy develop even better in all fields of life and in making the working collectives and the individual citizens become more interested in increasing labor efficiency.

As I have stated: The task is difficult but we are confident, because our people are talented and industrious and because in solving our tasks we can rely on the more and more fruitful cooperation with our friends.

Dear comrades! We note with feelings of satisfaction that the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the GDR rest on a firm basis, are untroubled, and are in line with the basic interests of our peoples.

High Assessment of the Results of Our Cooperation

We note with satisfaction that the cooperation between our countries has deepened and strengthened in all fields of life. Here the internationalist cooperation of our parties, the regular meetings between Comrade Janos Kadar and Erich Honecker, which give new impulses to the development of our relations and the consolidation of the friendship of our peoples, play a determining role.

In the system of our relations the economy assumes a particularly important place. We highly assess the achievements we have made so far and we are interested in making the development even more dynamic in the future. Therefore, we attach particular importance to the implementation of the long-term program of developing economic and scientific-technological cooperation through to the year 2000, the complete fulfilling of the trade agreement concluded for the present 5-year plan period, and the deepening of cooperation in production. I think that we should also briefly remember that the conditions of getting to know the cultural values of our countries are constantly improving and that human relations among our people are developing in a pleasing way.

Peoples Expect Constructive Answer From NATO Countries

Dear comrades! It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the peace initiatives jointly adopted by us at the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Budapest or proclaimed at forums of the CPSU and in the speeches of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in the present international situation burdened with contrasts and tensions.

We, just like you, are doing all we can to create favorable international conditions for our socialist construction work. Therefore, we firmly intend to continue our efforts to reduce the international tensions, together with our allies, friends, the peace-loving peoples of the world, and the realistically thinking political forces of the capitalist countries.

We rely on the fact that, in the end, the well-thought out, concerted peace offensives of the socialist community, the proposals striving for balanced solutions, ready for compromises and taking into account mutual interests, will result in reducing the arms race and in a real elimination of arms. Peace-loving people rightly expect that the NATO countries—above all the United States—will finally deal responsibly with the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and will give a constructive and businesslike answer. We consider the successes in the process of European security and

cooperation to be of particular singificance, as they have made an important contribution to ensuring that the East-West relations have not suffered an irreparable break altogether. As I have already stated, we ourselves are striving—with our modest possibilities—to contribute to improving the international atmosphere, to increasing trust. Discussing these question, I want to state that we highly assess the efforts of the GDR to strengthen and further develop the results of the process of security and cooperation in Europe.

Best Wishes for Fulfilling the Party Congress Resolutions

Dear Comrade Stoph! Dear Friends! I also wish you and the GDR people, also on behalf of our Central Committee, our government, the entire Hungarian people, great success in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress to make your home country prosper.

In this spirit I raise my glass:

- --to the further successes of the GDR, the well-being of your people;
- -- to the SED Central Committee and to the health of Comrade Erich Honecker:
- -- to the friendship of our peoples, the cooperation between our countries;
- -- to the health of our dear host, Comrade Willi Stoph, and all comrades present here!

/12232

CSO: 2500/15

POLITICS

WORK BY FRENCH SCHOLAR ON ROMANIAN HISTORY CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian No 38, 19 September 1986 publishes on page 8 a 450-word article by Florin Constantiniu reviewing a book by Francis Conte, a professor at the Sorbonne, on the history of Slavic peoples.

Conte's name is "known to Romanian specialists from his in-depth, two volume biography of Christian Rakovski, a leader of the socialist workers movement before WW I," says Constantiniu. The book under review is also a large one, 734 pages long. It has chapters on Slavic migrations during V-VIIth centuries; the heritage of pre-Christian Slavic civilizations; women in Slavic territories (a lengthy chapter); Slavic communities and their structure; Slavs and Eastern countries; Slavs between Rome and Byzantium; and the Byzantine heritage.

Constantiniu gives a generally favorable appraisal, stating that "there are in this book profound observations and conclusions, destined to open up new avenues of Slavic research." One seriously negative note is sounded, however. "The Romanian reader will be disappointed with the way in which the history of our people is treated. Conte appears not to have understood the uniqueness of our Eastern heritage. His information as regards Romanian problems is brief and superficial, which explains the errors he commits such as improper name alterations as well as considerations of a more general nature [unspecified]. This proves once more that it is not possible to write a history of the people of Southeastern Europe without a thorough knowledge of the national historiographies of these parts of the continent—a fact often forgotten by Western specialists. In this way exploded cliches could be avoided, making historiographic dialogue more efficient."

/9599

CSO: 2700/20

BRIEFS

POLISH SUPREME COURT DELEGATION—In the Parliament building Pal Losonczi has received the president of the Polish Supreme Court. Wlodzimierz Berutowicz arrived in Hungary at the head of a delegation at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart, Jenoe Szilbereky. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 86 LD] /12232

BULGARIAN FRONT DELEGATION VISITS—A study delegation of the Bulgarian Father-land Front visited Hungary 15-19 September at the invitation of the PPF National Council. The delegation studied the forms and practice of cooperation with public and mass organizations. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Sep 86 p 21 AU] /12232

CSSR INTERIOR MINISTER VISITS--MTI--At the invitation of Interior Minister Janor Kamara, Vratislav Vajnar, minister of interior of the CSSR and member of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Budapest on Tuesday [16 September] to pay an official and friendly visit to Hungary. Janos Kamara and Ondrej Durej, ambassador of the CSSR to Hungary, were present at Ferihegy Airport to receive the minister. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 86 p 4 AU] /12232

CSO: 2500/15

POLITICS ALBANIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN QUALITY, FORM OF ART, LITERATURE

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 13 Jul 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Every Publication and Artistic Manifestation is an Event in the Life of Society"]

[Text] There has always been and continues to be acknowledgement of the role and importance of artistic creativity in the communist education of the working masses, having in mind the works of distinguished artistic value. They attract readers and spectators; they enrich the spirit and rouse the mind; they stimulate discussion and an active attitude at work and in life. In this respect, distinguished literary and artistic works are kept in mind not only by bibliographers and students when they are published, exhibited or executed, but also by ordinary art-loving readers and viewers. It is the great memory of the people which gives and esteems, values and preserves its precious wealth - powerful ideological artistic creativity. Within these great art-loving masses, it is youth which constitutes the greatest and most active part, and which awaits with particular interest the publications, the new books, the new exhibits, the new artistic and cultural activities. At the meeting to confer the banner for youth campaigns, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized that "Youth views every book, every art exhibit, every cultural activity as an important event and approaches them with great seriousness and respect." Without doubt, this requires a great obligation on the part of creative artists in all branches of literature and in all types of art. And this applies not only to the creative artist. The publishing houses also have such a value and great responsibility. But in order to meet this obligation, it is necessary to evaluate and realize several essential aspects of the creative process in a better way.

First of all, high creative consciousness cannot be understood without continual efforts to acquire knowledge and active experience of contemporary developments.

A trip for a few months to the northern zones, for example, or a stay in other surroundings of work and production constitute only the beginning of knowledge and inspiration. Work consists of how much and how you experience things, what you observe, what you are concerned with and think about, how you enter into connection with the conveyers of various phenomena, with those who face and resolve complex and important problems. If the things that concern the masses, to which they are connected and for

which they struggle, do not become part of your consciousness and spirit as a creative artist, it is difficult to make your works realistic, with living plots, by means of which heroes and powerful characters are revealed. The practice of the more famous creative artists and writers speaks clearly about this through their distinguished works.

Second, the creative search for novelty and originality has always been linked with dialectical connections between content and form. In order to achieve a powerful ideological artistic realism, it is necessary that explorations in the vital processes of life should be expressed in a high artistic form. Various publications, productions and exhibits have had results in recent years, but more must be felt, at the level required by the general current development of the country, in terms of examination, originality and expression with powerful artistic means. Where theme and problem treatment do not prevail, regardless of your attempts with words, colors, sounds and technique, you will not succeed in transmitting strong thoughts and emotions. But there are also cases where the theme and problem treatment are important, but there is a lack of artistic language, an absence of fresh artistic means, contradictions abound and the artistic plot is weakened. In this way, the book, play or film not only does not succeed in constituting an event in the life of society, but also makes it tepid and "contributes" to the stratifications of the average and the mediocre. For this reason, in many meetings with creative artists, in open discussions and in literary press questionnaires, young people have expressed dissatisfaction with such works, creations and interpretations.

Third, improvement of the qualitative level of creative art and realization of works which constitute events in the life of society are connected with the selection, editorial work and evaluation in art institutions, on editorial boards, in collegia and on art councils. In these, greater collegial and operational work of a competent and well-informed nature is needed. The concept of "being on the inside," so heavily criticized, limits innovative creativity in content and form, just as it opens the way to literary and other creative works with an unhealthy content of liberal views.

The administrations of art institutions and publishing houses, armed with Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the teachings of the party on literature and art, must also possess cultivation and a thorough knowledge of the characteristic features of the branches or types of art. This is imperative, because rigid attitudes and low tastes and requirements result from lack of training. The fact that books with below-average value are published, that some plays have a very short run, and that some exhibits and concerts are not well received by the public indicates a spendthrift attitude and a misunderstanding of the affirmation that quality is quantity.

In order for you to respond to the requirements of the masses, you must work creatively, with imagination and without being satisfied with what has been achieved. This is imperative for writers and artists, but also for organizers of cultural and art activities. It is useful for the times to find an efficiacious way or form of communication activity. But if you remain with it for several years, this means that you are not moving with

the requirements of the times. Renewal, regeneration and freshness of cultural and artistic activity is a permanent and constant task, because this is the taste and the requirement of the masses, especially of youth. They are continually taught more and they become more knowledgeable and cultured. For that reason, the creative artist and the interpreter, the performer and the director of art and culture must elevate themselves, must increase their demands on themselves. Only with such conscious work can you achieve works and artistic and cultural activity which will be marked as social events and which will attract, inspire and move the masses.

12249/9835 CSO: 2100/56 POLITICS CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK ON EAST, WEST PEACE POLICIES

AU230601 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 9 (signed to press 7 Aug 86) pp 3-8

[Article by Bohuslav Chnoupek, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The Concept of Peace in the Nuclear Age]

[Text] The foreign policy credo of socialist Czechoslovakia is inseparable from the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The policy which arises from this is based on the Soviet Union's almost 70 years of experience. It was constituted by starting from the famous Decree on Peace and, passing the test of historical practice, it became profoundly concrete in nature and revealed multifaceted forms of implementation. The foundations of this policy were laid by V.I. Lenin, who pointed out the impermissibility of mechanically identifying the mutual relations of the two social systems with the class struggle in individual capitalist countries. In this connection he stressed that what is involved in this case is a particular form of struggle, carried out "in a different form, by different means" (Footnote 1) (V.II. Lenin: "complete Collected Works, Vol 40, p 18), in combination with peaceful coexistence.

History and the contemporary period fully confirm the vitality and dynamism of the policy of peaceful coexistence, as well as its significance as the single, irreplaceable method of relations with states of a different social system. It is constantly developing, thus reflecting changes in the world and meeting the needs of social progress. As Comrade Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the party Central Committee and CSSR President, stated at the 12th CPCZ Congress, "the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is aimed at stabilizing international relations, continuing the disarmament policy, halting the arms race, and disarmament." (Footnote 2) ("Political Report of the CPCZ Central Committee to the 12th CPCZ Congress." RUDE PRAVO, 25 March 1986)

The world today is not what it was a few decades, even a few years ago. It has become too small and too vulnerable. And if we want to protect and save it for ourselves and future generations, it is necessary to put an end to any adherence to doctrines of the acceptability and permissibility of a military solution to conflicts. And this means that the time has come for all states

to unconditionally accept the basic lesson of the epoch: no one can win a nuclear war.

Continuation of the arms race, and moreover its transfer to outer space, would only accelerate the already high rates at which nuclear arsenals are expanded and perfected. The former ominous cycle of war, a short peace, and war is unacceptable in our time. "Nuclear circumstances" have altered the very content of the coexistence of countries with different social systems. Living on mountains of weapons means /no more/ that just existence together under the constant threat of mutual destruction. [passage between slantlines published in bold type] Peoples do not want to become reconciled to this today. States are objectively faced with the choice of peaceful coexistence without weapons of mass destruction or universal destruction. There is no third alternative. In order to survive, it is necessary to master the great art of living in peace. Our tumultuous, contradictory century, which is full of complicated problems and dangers, demands this.

A way out does, therefore, exist. As the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 27th CPSU Congress stresses, it is only necessary to recognize that in the contemporary situation there is no alternative to cooperation and interaction between states, and that objective conditions have formed in which "the struggle between capitalism and socialism can take place /only and exclusively in the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful cooperation/." (Footnote 3) (M.S. Gorbachev: "CPSU Central Committee Report to the 27th CPSU Congress." Moscow, 1986, p 84)

Our philosophy of peace presupposes both a clear recognition of the scale of the danger of nuclear war and of the need to undertake everything necessary to prevent it, and the political will and concrete practical actions in defense of peace. It is precisely this kind of approach which characterizes the statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev of 15 January this year, which contains a stage-by-stage program for the complete liquidation of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. The Soviet initiative takes account of the arguments and concepts previously advanced by other nuclear powers and is of a constructive nature, which makes it a constructive basis for accords.

In Czechoslovakia we support with all our hearts the peace program adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. The Political Report of the CPCZ Central Committee to the 12th Party Congress states that "this program is realistic, comprehensive, and profoundly humane: it is marked by a high degree of responsibility for the fate of civilization and creates a unique opportunity for mankind. If peoples want to enter the new millennium without fears for its future, this historic opportunity must not be lost. Our party and the entire Czechoslovak people fully support the Soviet program. We are using all our means and potential in order to contribute as effectively as possible to the implementation of this great peace initiative." (Footnote 4) ("Political Report of the CPCZ Central Committee to the 12th CPCZ Congress." RUDE PRAVO, 25 March 1986)

The reality of the nuclear age is such that is rules out the possibility of ensuring international security by military-technological means alone. Were

the nuclear arms race to be continued any further, even military-strategic parity would cease to be a factor of deterrence. Ensuring peace and international security is consequently a political task which can be solved only by political means. For this reason we entirely support the Foundations for the Creation of an All-Embracing System of International Security, which were formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. They open the way for productive cooperation with governments, parties, and social organizations and movements which are truly concerned with the fate of mankind. The Foundations envisage the creation of preconditions for strengthening peace in all the basic spheres of international life--military, political, economic, and humanitarian. Their implementation would guarantee the free, independent, and secure development of all peoples, and would make it possible to more fully ensure human rights all over the world, beginning with the paramount one--the right to life.

Czechoslovakia has always striven and still strives for the fullest possible implementation of joint peace initiatives by fraternal socialist countries. What is primarily involved is the struggle to put into practice the proposals made by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pace countries. In the present complex international situation, when peoples are faced with the full acuteness of the question of whether to live in peace or perish in nuclear war, the socialist countries consider resolute actions and concrete measures more necessary than ever, in order to put a swift halt to the arms race--above all in nuclear weapons, to prevent it from spreading to outer space, and to move over to disarmament. This is the aim of the proposals which they addressed to the NATO countries -- the proposals to hold talks related to the conclusion of an agreement on mutual nonuse of military force, on the complete liquidation of Soviet and American medium-rang missiles in the European zone on a mutual basis, on the elimination of chemical weapons, and so on. The Address to NATO Member-States and All European Countries, which was adopted in June at the Political Consultative Committee conference in Budapest, sets out an important new initiative -- a program of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. (Footnote 5) (For more details on this, see: "The Peace Initiative of Socialism Continues." PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1986, No 8)

In various international forums our republic comes out with its own initiatives. Let us at least recall the "Declaration on International Cooperation in the Interests of Disarmament," which was adopted by the 34th session of the UN General Assembly on a proposal by CSSR President Gustav Husak. This is an appeal to adopt a constructive approach to developing, strengthening, and deepening international cooperation for the sake of disarmament, and to make a contribution to eliminating the threat of nuclear war, and is an appeal of continuing relevance which is addressed to all states. What is involved is taking the necessary measures to halt the arms race, augmenting efforts leading to general and total disarmament, making use of one's inalienable right to participate in disarmament talks, and not creating obstacles to their solution. Our proposals represent a code of principles which can be universally applied at any disarmament talks and at any level, and which would have to be adhered to by all governments in the interests of developing constant cooperation for the sake of achieving successes in disarmament.

On the initiative of the CSSR, the 40th session of the UN General Assembly adopted the "Resolution on International Cooperation for the Sake of Disarmament," which further develops the above declaration, introducing two new points to it: a demand to block the militarization of outer space and an appeal to freeze nuclear arsenals.

It would naturally be naive to consider that a reduction in the risk of nuclear war is automatically ensured by resolutions or by the circumstance that the forces of peace objectively predominate over the forces of war. extraordinary nature of the situation which has formed in the world requires an innovative approach to the problems arising from it, an approach which rules out a reliance on military force. We consider that it is necessary to take a new look at the very category of military-strategic balance, which up until now has operated as a decisive factor deterring the use of force. operation of military-technological mechanisms is today so dynamic and complicated that in controlling them the human brain is frequently subordinate to the electronic brain. This is linked to the danger--as yet unknown in practice--that a situation will arise which people will be incapable of controlling and which may resolve itself in an unforeseen catastrophe, "through the will" of a computer. The threat of war as a result of technical error is growing. The crash [avariya] of the American "Challenger" rocketplane [raketoplan] showed what can happen with complex electronic systems, as well as what even the least technical shortcoming can lead to, if we speak about space weapons.

Recognition of these dangers stimulates the appearance of numerous political positions which are frequently contradictory and which are determined by different, primarily class interests. These positions, even those which are polar opposites, have recently been characterized by an understanding of the fact that the outbreak of even the most "limited" nuclear war would lead to a global apocalypse which no one could avoid. If, for example, American President Ronald Reagan agreed with the thesis that "a nuclear war must never by started, there can be no winners in it" in his joint statement with M.S. Gorbachev on the results of the Geneva meeting, he was simply grasping a wellknown and generally recognized fact. But recognition of this fact represents only the summit of a philosophical pyramid, from which radiate different ideas about the evaluation of, and possibilities of solving, the fundamental problems of the world today. The concepts of preventing global nuclear catastrophe proposed by the two social systems are situated at distant points in the foundation of this pyramid. Of course, the greatest distance separates the concepts of the states of the socialist community and those of the extreme right-wing circles of imperialism.

The understanding of the dangers of the nuclear and space age are transformed in completely different ways into practical steps which, it would seem, must make it impossible to create conditions permitting the outbreak of war. On the one hand, in their foreign policy the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries inject living content into the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence: the renunciation of war and of the use of force or the threat of force as a means of resolving disputed issues; the resolution of such issues at the negotiating table; noninterference in domestic matters and mutual respect for the legitimate interests of states; the right of peoples to

determine their own destiny independently; strict observance of states' sovereignty and territorial integrity and of the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, and so on.

On the other hand, we see a policy which is the complete opposite, although it is masked by an ostentatious love of peace. Reactionary imperialist forces "fight" against the threat of war by intensifying the arms race, transferring it to outer space, and whipping up international tension, asserting that peace can only be preserved "from a position of strength." All these steps are aimed at one goal—that of ensuring imperialist domination. According to the interpretation of militarist circles, the policy of peaceful coexistence supposedly does not rule out interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. These circles do not want to renounce the idea of social revanche (if not by directly military means, then by wearing out the forces of socialism in the arms race). They have evidently not yet understood that the category of social revanche belongs to the same "blood group" as the idea of the permissibility of nuclear war.

According to the militarists' "logic," the main "threat to peace" comes from socialist states. They frequently assert that lasting peace will be "possible" only after these states accept the bourgeois concept of human rights, with the help of which they would like to dismantle the socialist community and sociopolitical system in individual countries from within. Peace, they say, is upset by peoples who reject imperialist pressure and move along the path of social progress. The forces which counteract attempts by monopolies to limit the sovereign right of peoples to dispose of their own natural resources are not in accordance with imperialism ideas about peace, either.

In contemporary conditions socialism and capitalism are "doomed" to coexistence, and to such a coexistence as forms in the course of confrontation and cooperation. However, everything attests to the fact the powers in Western centers do not yet want to finally recognize this reality and make a corresponding political choice which is not subject to changes in the current situation. If this were not so, swings and abrupt turns from detente to antidetente would not occur in their policy. As is known, it is sometimes enough for the international atmosphere to become very slightly heated for the United States to rapidly move over to a course of harsh confrontation.

The course of world events attests again and again to the fact that a class, concrete historical approach is of decisive significance for the elucidation of questions of war and peace. It is our conviction that only such an approach makes it possible to reliably interpret the essence of these questions and to objectively assess the possibilities of resolving them.

Wars were the natural result of the development of a system of social relations which were developed by exploitative formations. Let us recall K. Marx's words that "//war// reached its developed forms earlier than peace," which was unjust and based on coercion. [word between double slantlines published in italics] (Footnote 7) K. Marx and F. Engels: "Works," Vol 46, Part 1, p 46) This was an armed peace which was constantly fraught with war.

And it was only socialism that fundamentally changed the situation, opening up the possibility of eliminating wars from the life of society and of establishing general peace on earth. The struggle waged by the socialist states for such a development is determined in a law-governed way by the very essence of the policy conducted by the classes which created the new socialist system.

The historical role of the victorious workers class grows considerably and acquires a new quality as a consequence of the fact that in the nuclear and space age a lasting, democratic peace has become a decisive condition for the further existence of human civilization. As the leading force in society, this class is called upon to ensure that socialism fulfills its mission of being the main guarantor of the preservation of peace and the survival of mankind. The fulfillment of this mission in the course of the struggle for a reduction in the threat for an improvement in international relations is an indispensible preconditon for the achievement of all the goals and ideals of social progress. As the most humane demand of peoples, peace is becoming a factor which integrates the basic interests of socialist society and the key interests of all mankind.

World development confirms the conclusion of Marxism-Leninism that the history of society is not the sum of chance elements, but a law-governed, progressive process which manifests itself with a certain degree of unity, for all its contradictory nature. Its dialectical essence is expressed in the fact that the trend toward deeper interconnection and interdependence of all countries is making progress even in conditions where the struggle between old and new, capitalism and socialism is being exacerbated. The mutual threat of destruction only stimulates this trend and calls for the establishment of constructive and mutually advantageous relations between states and peoples. World development confirms the conclusion of Marxism-Leninism that the history of society is not a sum total of accidental elements but a law-governed progressive process which manifests itself in a certain unity despite all its contradictions. The dialectical essence of this process is reflected in the fact that the tendency toward deepening the interrelationship and mutual interdependence of all countries breaks through even under the conditions of exacerbating antagonism between the old and the new, between capitalism and socialism. The mutual threat of annihilation only stimulates this tendency and demands that constructive and mutually beneficial relations be established between states and peoples.

The realities of our time raise more urgently than ever before the demand for a qualitatively new political consciousness and for a principled break with the outlived traditions and norms of international behavior which developed in the prenuclear era and which oriented the states and governments toward solving the world's political problems with the use of force. But the fact remains that under the conditions when imperialism is engaged in actions of massive ideological persuasion of the population, the thesis of "peace from the position of strength" still finds quite a few advocates in the nonsocialist countries. The views deformed by anticommunism and the narrow class interests prevent many, and sometimes even quite a few realistically minded politicians of neutral and nonaligned states from finding the right orientation in the contemporary situation, and they make it more difficult to

recognize the real sources of military threat and the true goals of the imperialist policy covered up by peace-loving rhetoric.

However, by setting the example of a consistent struggle for international security, socialism is exercising an ever greater influence on the world public. In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist concept of peace, the states of the socialist community advocate a peaceful coexistence which would not simply signify an absence of war. We are in favor of an international order in which good neighborliness and cooperation would dominate in world arena. Our concept of peace proceeds from the view that all threats, power pressures, blackmail, disregard for the existing accords, or attempts to gain domination over other countries and limit their sovereignty are incompatible with the norms of civilized relations between peoples. This concept presupposes the creation of a democratic and just peace in which every people would have equal opportunities for social progress and for access to the achievements of science and technology and world culture.

The socialist countries proceed from the belief that lasting and democratic peace can only be achieved by stopping the arms race, through gradual disarmament, and by finally and definitely eliminating wars and threats of military force from international relations. This position is not dictated only by their devotion to peace but also by the objective need for creating optimal conditions for further progress of the socialist society. The Political Report to the 17th CPCZ Congress includes a statement which clearly expresses the coincidence of our republic's foreign policy course with its internal political needs: "Creating favorable external conditions for building a developed socialist society continues to be the main goal of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. Czechoslovakia's authority and influence are based on the successful and comprehensive development of our society and on our state's firm position in the socialist community. The growth of our country's economic and spiritual potential augments its contribution to the struggle for peace and to solving the fundamental question of the contemporary period, questions of eliminating the threat of outbreak of a nuclear war and of ensuring international security and disarmament." (Footnote B) ("Political Report off the CPCZ Central Committee to the 17th CPCZ Congress." RUDE PRAVO, 25 March 1986) [title of document in Czech]

The foreign policy strategy of the fraternal countries of socialism is aimed, first and foremost, at stopping the material preparations for nuclear war. At the same time, in implementing their peaceful policy, they naturally rely on the economic power, political authority, and achieved level of defense capability of the entire socialist community. These elements guarantee that imperialism will not succeed in disrupting the military-strategic equilibrium to its own advantage. Following the establishment of this equilibrium, the U.S. and NATO ruling circles have been able to convince themselves on several occasions that there is no possibility for success of any aspirations to achieve military superiority over socialism. The USSR and its allies have proved that they are able to operationally thwart any attempts of this type, regardless of whether they are expressed in quantitative increases of nuclear weapons or in enhancements of the qualitative parameters of weapons systems. All such attempts only lead to squandering material resources and they intensify the danger of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union's initiatives clearly indicate what path must be followed to effectively and reliably ensure peace and security. The USSR's unilateral steps--the commitments not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to refrain from creating [sozdavat] space-based antisatellite strike systems as long as the other side also refrains from that, and to stop the deployment and reduce the number of medium-range missiles in the European part of its territory-convincingly demonstrate that its appeals for disarmament are not mere words. Even in the spheres where unilateral concessions are especially risky, the USSR has set an example of goodwill and has demonstrated in deeds that it recognizes its own responsibility for the fate of the world. What is involved here, first and foremost, is the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests which was proclaimed on 6 August 1985 and subsequently extended several times. M.S. Gorbachev's proposals to the American President to meet for negotiations on and preparation of an agreement on this question are known to the world. If the American Administration responded to this initiative, an end would be put to nuclear explosions and the race in the most dangerous arms would stop. And the deep disappointment of the world public over newer and newer underground nuclear weapons tests carried out by the United States is understandable.

The situation that has developed around the question of stopping nuclear tests elucidates especially strikingly the peace concepts of socialism and imperialism and their essence, and the opposite positions of the policy courses based on these concepts.

In our period the essence and development of international relations is increasingly determined by the active participation in world politics of various social groups, classes, and peoples who exercised only insignificant influence on the fate of the world in the past. It is especially under the impact of the far-reaching peace initiatives of socialism and of public protests against the U.S. and NATO militarist policies that the peace-loving and antiwar movements are assuming the nature of broad movements and are acquiring great political influence. Thus the struggle for international security is not waged only "from above," by diplomatic means of peace-loving states, something that will continue to be of greatest significance in politics, but also "from below" through the actions of a mass antiwar movement. Millions of people in Europe and on other continents have joined the movement. This many-sided movement has become one of the long-term factors in the formation of contemporary international relations. Its participants hold the most widely varied views but they are united by their common goal of preventing mankind's nuclear suicide.

The objective coincidence of the goals advocated by the participants of the peace struggle in capitalist states with the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and its allies are causing serious alarm among the imperialist circles. Under the conditions of the existence of two antagonistic social systems the socialist states strive in practice to accomplish the task that K. Marx and F. Engels placed before the workers class on an international scale already in their time, that is, the task of striving so that the simple laws of morality and justice by which individuals are guided in their mutual relations also become the highest laws in the relations between peoples. (Footnote 9) (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Works," vol. 16, p 11)

Instigators of the arms race are making considerable efforts in their attempts to discredit the champions of peace, to split their ranks, and to weaken the effectiveness of their actions. In this connection they stake their efforts, first and foremost, on those forces in the antiwar movement which are not sympathetic to the new social system and which fail to understand that in our period peace can only be preserved on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The militarist circles try to split the movement and they propagandize the false claims that the movement allegedly represents an "extension of Moscow's hand."

In striving for the broadest unification of peace-loving forces in the struggle against the threat of war, the Marxist-Leninists proceed from their belief that, however great the threat to peace from the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism may be, world war is not an inevitable fate. But at the same time, we cannot agree with the illusory thesis that the policy of peaceful coexistence allegedly signifies socialism's conciliation with capitalism on the basis of a "liquidation" of the class struggle. There are objective and irreconcilable antagonistic contradictions between capitalism and socialism. The problem is not to remove them through a transition to peaceful class cohabitation, which is impossible, but to exclude the use of military methods to resolve them.

It is also impossible to agree with another pacifist assertion according to which the struggle in defense of revolutionary achievements and for national liberation has already become "obsolete" and can lead to dangerous political consequences for the cause of peace. The advocates of these views sometimes even go as far as to claim that even in the event of a nuclear attack by imperialism a peace-loving socialist state is not entitled, it is said, to a retaliatory strike. For the sake of mankind's preservation, they say, it is necessary to agree to the restoration of the capitalist system in the hope for future liberation by other means without the use of weapons. This is understandably no longer a philosophy of peace and progress but the philosophy of impermissible capitulation in the face of an escalated brigandage of reaction. The countries of socialism are in the vanguard of the struggle to save human civilization. At the same time, they cannot become reconciled to the exploitation and oppression of man by man. A social system that engenders social injustice also engenders the threat of nuclear war. The struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress are closely linked and peace and labor have a common enemy, the most reactionary forces of big capital.

People are fully justified to ask: Is there some hope that the democratic concept of peace will gain the upper hand in international relations?

Just peace involving a constant reduction of stockpiles of weapons and a consistent [word indistinct] of material preparations for war does not represent a decisive condition only for the development of socialism. All peoples and working people of the world are interested in it. It is needed to overcome the extraordinarily difficult and constantly deteriorating position in which an overwhelming majority of developing countries finds itself. If mankind fails to diminish the burden of growing expenditures for arms, it will lack sufficient resources to solve such fundamental contemporary problems as overcoming hunger, disease, illiteracy, and other manifestations of material

and spiritual poverty which are so shameful for civilization in the era of the conquest of outer space. If we fail to stop the arms race, mankind will also lack sufficient resources for the struggle against the consequences of ecological imbalance and for environmental protection and improvement.

Democratic and just peace objectively represents an indispensable condition for the development of all countries, including the capitalist countries. More and more political leaders have begun to take this into account, as is demonstrated, for instance, by the Delhi appeal of the heads of six states and by other steps taken by the leading figures of a number of nonsocialist countries. They understand that the concept of "peace from a position of strengthen," embodying the "security" ideas of the ruling circles of American imperialism, reflects the aspiration of this imperialism to domination in all spheres of international relations, including interimperialist relations. This concept is connected with the efforts to create such ties of dependence on Washington which are contrary to the vital interests of the people.

The sober-minded politicians of capitalist states understand the danger that the course of the American Administration represents for them. This is demonstrated, in particular, by our experience of negotiations and contacts with the political and social organization of Western countries. Public debates in parliaments, in social democratic and liberal parties, and among broad circles of the West European public also show this. The question is this: Does the present American policy correspond to the ideas of European peoples about their own security, and is not the United States taking too much on itself in its pretensions to world leadership? The American Congress' growing opposition to the latest draft military budgets proposed by the Pentagon reflects the fact that there are also forces among the political circles in the United States which consider the militarist course stubbornly followed by the extreme right wing of big capital as harmful and hopeless.

The results of the 27th CPCZ Congress have unambiguously confirmed that Czechoslovakia would continue to consistently follow the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation together with the fraternal socialist countries. Their joint program of ensuring international security, which the CSSR supports in every way possible, needs no advocates; it has already become an important factor of international politics. The governments of many countries, political parties, and disarmament specialists comprehensively study this program. It is at the center of broad public discussions. Its various aspects are discussed in one form or another within the framework of international forums and this is confirmed by the first indications of positive results at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe or at the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe.

This factor is also constructively reflected in the negotiations held within the framework of the all-European peace process such as, for instance, the Ottawa meeting on human rights or the cultural forum in Budapest. Our peaceful program will undoubtedly also have a positive effect on the meeting of representatives of the signatory countries of the Helsinki Final Act which is due to be held in Vienna in the fall.

In conclusion I wish to emphasize once again: We in Czechoslovakia, a socialist country implementing its traditional peaceful foreign policy, fully realize that the preservation of peace requires a persistent and consistent struggle. Sparing no efforts or energy, we will continue to actively participate in it and do everything possible for its victory. We see the road to achieving this lofty goal in the comprehensive strengthening of the unity of states of the socialist community and in the development of cooperation with all progressive, peace-loving, and democratic forces of the world. The CSSR's policy and diplomacy approach all the tasks which we are solving either on a long-term basis or in our everyday practice by bearing this fact in mind.

/12913 CSO: 1807/13 POLITICS

BUDAPEST REPORTS ON VISIT BY PRC PEACE DELEGATION

LD162348 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 86

[No video available]

[Text] For the first time in decades, a Chinese peace delegation has been visiting Budapest. After the many difficult years in Hungarian-Chinese relations, it is being proven over and over again that there is opportunity, possibility and desire for the creation of settled relations and better cooperation.

After the persecutions of the Cultural Revolution, the organization of the Chinese peace movement was founded again last year, with the name People's Alliance for Peace and Disarmament. In the past year not only has work been organized again within the country, but the building up of international relations has also begun. The head of the delegation is Bishop Tsong Huaytu, vice president of the People's Alliance, who also is head of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Society.

[Begin recording] [unidentified speaker] How can two such distant countries as Hungary and China work together in the peace movement?

[Huaytu in Chinese with superimposed Hungarian translation] Very well. We value highly the peace endeavors of the small countries too. Peace is indivisible. Only if the peoples on earth unite in strong friendship will they be able to preserve peace jointly. Distance is not an obstacle. Now we have found the path to one another and we shall work together. [end recording]

/12232

CSO: 2500/15

POLITICS HUNGARY

GASPAR ON INTERNATIONAL TU COOPERATION

AU101431 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), at the 5 September session of the SZPT in Budapest, as "The Report on the International Activity of Hungarian Trade Unions and on the Preparations for the 11th World Trade Union Congress (WTUC)": "SZOT session—All Over the World Trade Unions Are Facing New Problems"—passages between slant-lines are in italics]

[Text] "During the preparations for the outstanding event of the International Trade Union Movement, the 11th WTUC, it is necessary for SZPT to /summarize/ all events since the 25th Congress and the main trends of the International Trade Union Movement, as well as to /specify/ the position of the Hungarian trade unions in relation to the World Congress," said the chairman of SZPT and continued as follows:

"As regards the experience of Hungarian trade unions concerning the short period since their 25th Congress, /conditions for the international activities of trade unions show an improving tendency/. Although the tensions of the eighties are still present, they are easing somewhat.

A favorable basis and good environment for the /rich and lively international activity of our trade unions/ were created by the fact that European trade unions of various trends, a wide range of representatives of trade unions from socialist countries, and other international organizations were present at the 25th Congress. /The interest in our domestic acitivites and in our efforts has demonstrated not only the international recognition of Hungarian trade unions but also the realistic demand for utilizing national experience even internationally, and for thinking and acting jointly"/ said Sandor Gaspar.

"The International participation in our congress provided an opportunity, beyong the strengthening of bilateral relations, for renewing the /multilateral/dialogue among European trade unions. In addition of this, the invitation and presence of /Chinese trade unions/ made a significant contribution to settling the relations among several socialist countries trade unions and the Trade Union of China.

"During the recent period Hungarian trade unions have, mostly by invitation, participated in congresses of fraternal organizations. Our representatives

were present at the congress of the /Yugoslav/ and /Romanian/ trade unions, and at the congresses of the /Italian/ CGIL, the /Portuguese/ Intersindical, that of the DGB /in the FRG/, the /Spanish/ UGT, the /Finnish/ SAK, the /Scottish/ and /Irish/ TUC, the /Brazilian/ CUT, the /Togolese/ CNTT, the /Ethiopian/ AETU, the /Congolese/ CSC, and the /Malagasy/ FISEMARE. Several branch and industrial trade unions received invitations to and participated in their partner trade unions' congresses; and this again demonstrated the readiness to cooperate and the demand for jointly solving the workers' mutual problems."

The Development of Our International Relations

According to the main guidelines for 1986 set by the SZOT Presidium, the Hungarian trade unions /conducted planned and regular cooperation with trade unions of socialist countries/. They discussed designated issues and took part in multilateral events organized to deal with particular areas of the movement. The SZOT chairman had conducted continuous dialogues with /the leaders of Soviet trade unions and leaders of trade unions in other socialist countries/ as regards the tasks and initiatives related to various events of the international trade union movement. Within the framework of bilateral relations, the SZPT chairman paid a consultative visit to the Soviet Union.

The discussions with leaders of the Italian CGIL, the French CGT, the Spanish Workers' Commissions, and the Portuguese Intersindical included various factors dealing with domestic /conditions of power, prospects, daily struggles/, and which strengthen or hinder /the opportunity of international collaboration/. At the functions of and consultations with British, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Belgian, Dutch, FRG, Japanese, and Austrian Trade Union representatives a demand was expressed /to maintain and strengthen relations and to form bilateral cooperation/.

The Hungarian trade unions were consistent in their efforts /to continue the multilateral dialogue among European trade unions, which was interrupted in 1981 as a result of the introduction of the martial law in Poland/, and to succeed by joint efforts in safeguarding mutual values, such as /preserving peace and disarmament/; to enforce the direct interest of employees, such as /ensuring employment/; to prevent or stave off unfavorable consequences due to the introduction of new technologies, to maintain and increase /the socialist achievements of skilled labor, and retraining/; and /to safeguard and extend trade union rights/.

In this respect the SZOT chairman explained that according to the non-official and multilateral consultations held on the occasion of the Finnish SAK Congress in Helsinki, not even the leaders of trade unions in West European countries doubt the necessity of treating these issues jointly. However, it remains a distrubing factor that Poland suspended its membership of the ILO.

The representatives of Hungarian trade unions—both of the SZOT and of branches and industrial sectors—took part in several significant /international talks/ and events and represented the position and goals of their leading agencies in connection with international activities.

Within the framework of the ILO, the SZOT chairman gave a well-received lecture in Geneva at the invitation of the /Sociology Research Institute/ on the roots, history, current situation, and goals of the Hungarian Trade Union Movement.

Next Sandor Gaspar explained that the Hungarian trade unions were engaged in lively and substantial activity in international trade unions, /above all in the WFTU and in its international branch organizations/. Recently the preparations for the 11th WCTU were concluded. An important milestone of this was the 35th session of the WCTU in April 1986 in Prague. The Hungarian trade unions /agreed to participate to a great extent in drawing up the main topics and priorities for discussion at the WCTU, as well as in making the structure, working style, methods, and means of the WCTU more attractive and efficient./ An outstanding event in this process was /the thorough and detailed dialogue among the representatives of the CPSU politiburo 15 August this year./

At the annual general meeting of the /ILO/, as well as in carrying out their elected functions in the Executive Council, the Hungarian Trade Union representatives conducted their activities effectively and in accordance with their assignment. The proof of /the international recognition/ of the Hungarian Trade Union Movement has been provided by the fact that leading ILO officials have often contacted SZOT representatives for their opinions and invited them to participation in various issues concerning the relationship between the organization and the socialist countries.

Our trade unions have tried to fulfill /their obligations of solidarity/ with trade unions in developing countries, which operate in extremely difficult circumstances, correctly and to the best of their ability

Challenge of the Age Must Be Met

/The new phenomena within the International Trade Union Movement are of decisive significance/ for both the context and form of the international activity of Hungarian trade unions, and our standpoints in the WFTU.

According to our international experience /the trade union movement all over the world is at present looking for ways and means, and is facing a pile of problems, and in certain regions/ (such as in Western Europe) /struggling with critical situations/. The working style and methods of the several centuries old trade union movement—especially in developed capitalist countries—even today /remind us of the age of classical capitalism/, although economic and social conditions have in the meantime gone through /fundamental changes/.

"The trade union movement is facing new problems all over the world/. If it intends to maintain the confidence of employees, its membership, its place and role in society, /it must adapt itself/ to new circumstances and /must meet the challenges of the age,"/ emphasized the SZOT chairman, and continued as follows:

"The trade union movement's activities /in socialist countries/ are fundamentally influenced by the fact that during the course of /changing over from extensive to intensive economic management/ the activity required to assist production is also changing, and so are the conditions and opportunities of financial and moral incentives of employees.

/"The trade unions must find new goals that are based on realities, which are able to mobilize and serve the interest representation of employees./ In order to maintain and improve the standard of living, they have to find consistent concepts that are, at the same time, flexible with changing circumstances. They must make a difference between satisfying real demands and those which, at the movement, lack economic foundations.

The accelerating technological progress and the efforts to increase economic efficiency have confronted the trade unions with new tasks in the fields of employment, vocational training, retraining, the improvement of working conditions, and increasing the quality of life. Parallel to the reforms in economic management, the participation of trade unions and employees /is increasing/ in the decisionmaking of the management, there is a growing democracy in society. The trade unions must also reckon with the fact that /due to changing structures in the economy, there will also be a change in the traditional composition of members/ in the trade unions.

In recent years the trade union activity in socialist countries has become /more differentiated,/ but the /place and role/ of the trade unions have also taken a new position in all fields. The trade union activities have shown some increasingly /specific features/. An indispensable component of our relations and cooperation is /dialogue, joint thinking, and debates over these issues./ There are growing demands to learn about, use, and mutually respect each other's experience and practice.

/"The trade union movement in the developed capitalist countries is at present facing its perhaps most difficult period./ During the years of the economic boom following World War II, the trade unions managed to achieve much in safeguarding the interests of employees, winning gains in welfare, and taking steps to ensure employees' rights to participate in decisionmaking.

"These achievements /have created illusions/ regarding the nature of the capitalist system and the power of trade unions. The present economic crisis, which has lasted for an unprecedentedly long time, /took the trade unions by surprise/, and caused disturbance in their ranks.

"According to conservative economic concepts, the capitalist economy could be revived /if the green light were given to the so-called real processes, allowing all the economic and social burdens to fall on the shoulders of employees./ The trade unions are expected to accept this and place no obstacles in the way of this method of doctoring economic troubles. /Today's capitalist governments and employers do not merely attack welfare achievements and the law, but they have opened a frontal attack on the trade union movement/. There is a growing opinion that the trade union movement has outlived itself historically and become unnecessary and useless. According to this reasoning, /wiping out the basis of the masses on the left wing/ could bring about far-reaching and dangerous consequences in society," emphasized Sandor Gaspar.

It seems to be difficult for the trade unions to mount a defence. /People's confidence in them has been shattered and the size of their membership is decreasing./ Much of their power is consumed by everyday struggles to achieve practical

goals, while they should find a comprehensive strategy based on principle, to enable them /to adapt to today's realities and requirements/.

/The trade union movement in the Third World /is also in a period of change. The movement conceived in the time of struggles for national independence, which participated in the wars of liberation and even fulfilled the role of forming the state, has increasingly become a rather specific kind of trade union; and it must find suitable forms and means to carry on /the struggle to represent their members' interests/. This has been hindered to a great extent by the lack of unity and by the governments' anti-trade unionist behavior.

Sandor Gaspar confirmed that the WFTU is aware of these phenomena and as the /only universal world federation of trade unions, which has member unions in all social systems and on all continents, it is fully aware of its calling and responsibility. With the 11th WTCU, it intends to create a forum that will not only provide an opportunity for honest dialogue, with a view to improving and serving the universal interests of workers; but which will also outline the prospects for development and give an new stimulus to the activity and struggles of the universal movement of trade unions./

Great Expectations Prior to the World Congress

According to the Statute of the WFTU, the 11th WTCU will meet in /Berlin/, the capital city of the GDR. This decision was made by the General Council of the WFTU at its 37th session held from 30 September to 4 October 1985 in /Moscow/.

/Great expectations and interest precede/ the congress, which are above all due to the confrontations in the international situation and to the above described and dangerous economic and social problems, such as: the arms race and its consequences; protracted economic crisis, unemployment; the impact of new technologies on the workers; the attack on welfare results achieved by the trade unions, and against collective negotiations and regulations; the debts of developing countries, backwardness, poverty, hunger, and illiteracy; the attack on the rights of trade unions; the so-called crisis of trade unions and their search for new ways and means.

The congress must examine the developments since the 10th WTCU, which was held in 1982 in /Havana/; the implementation of orientation worked out there jointly and entitled 'The Trade Unions and the Challenges of the Eighties;' and it must decide the /strategic goals and practical tasks/ of the world federation in the coming period.

After the bureau session in Prague, the Secretariat of the WFTU placed at the disposal of invited unions the draft copy of the main document, which deals with an analysis of the situation and tasks, and which the congress will discuss, modify according to need, and finalize. (An abridged version of it was published in NEPSZAVA on 23 August 1986.)

From the beginning, /the Hungarian trade unions/ participated in the activity of the WFTU and in the preparations for the WFTU /with the responsibility of the founding members./

As a member of the commission drafting the main document, they made substantial remarks, and the draft analyzed in a wide circle, held discussions, and forwarded their proposals to the WFTU secretariat. They actively participated in various organizations, working committees, and functions of the WFTU, they accepted a significant taks in /making proposals to increase the adaptability and power of the WFTU and to strengthen its trade unionist character./

Based on the preparations, the world congress intends to give a new stimulus to revive the WFTU and increase the efforts to modernize its strucutral strength and its working style and methods. The consultations among the leaders of the WFTU and the CPSU provide assistance for discussing these issues openly and frankly and achieving a real step forward.

At the world congress, the WFTU will again underline and confirm its willingness and intention to create above all /a unity of actions/ and form /an international trade union movement that is united. Unity is vital in order for the workers' trade unions to be prepared for the most vital problems of our age and meet the challenges that hace reached the world of labor,"/ concluded Sandor Gaspar.

/12232

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TU'S NAGY ON WINNING CONFIDENCE OF WORKERS

AU101109 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 86 pp 3-4

[Report on the speech by Sandor Nagy, secretary of the National Trade Union Council (SZOT), at the session of the SZOT held in Budapest on 5 September, on the "tasks of the trade unions and of the workers in the implementation of the people's economy plan for 1986 and in the preparation of the 1987 plan," under the headline: "The Trade Unions Are Concentrating Their Forces On Fulfilling The Current Year's Economic Tasks And On Laying The Foundations For The Future"]

[Text] At the SZOT sessions, we have dealt with the economic situation and with the work to carry out the tasks facing us as recurring points on the agenda. This is natural because the economy and its successful operation is a fundamental part of our lives and a vital condition for our social and individual porgress--said the SZOT secretary in his introduction. Today, there are more problems then previously and even more things to be done than previously in this area. Our main goal at present is the latter, an analysis of the things that need to be done, the need to join forces and concentrate on the tasks facing us, and we call upon all the workers of the country for this. the absolutely fundamental interest of our society and at the moment, there is, and can be, no more important tasks facing the trade union movement. Sandor Nagy spoke about the fact that the lack of improvement in the economy's incomeproducing capacity has in the past few years become a source of considerable social and economic tension. The majority of the workers received the inevitable unfavorable measures with understanding and with a high sense of responsibility. This is based on confidence in the party's policy, in its sincere and realistic evaluation of the situation, and in the tasks formulated by the party, confidence has also been asserted in difficult situations. That is why the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress were accepted unanimously, decisions aimed at improving our economic situation and creating the conditions for "shifting" the economy. That is why the trade union movement gave its consent in good faith and in confidence to the stipulations of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and to its main efforts, which we not only simply accepted but also helped to work out. Therefore, we continue to regard this plan as the guiding line of our economic activity.

Based On A Realistic Evaluation Of The Situation

None of this contradicts the fact that the achievements of the concluding year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the starting year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan--1986--have been far behind the plan so far. No doubt, all this will considerably

affect the conditions for the implementation of the plan but it definitely matters what kind of conclusions we draw from all this: Whether we have to abandon the Seventh 5-Year Plan or must do more and must work more resolutely for the implementation of the plan. The position of the trade union movement is that we can have no other viewpoint in the current situation than to maintain the guideline of the plan and work in order to fulfill its stipulation as closely as possible--the SZOT secretary said and pointed out that the economic achievements of the current year so far have understandably been followed closely. Every responsible member of society is concerned about the unfavorable results of 1985 and the achievements of the current year so far because if there is no adequate economic growth, if there is a deterioration in our balance of payments, if the budget balance is upset, and if there is no harmony between performance and income, all this can all lead to dangers that are worth bearing in mind. There are two types of mistake we can make in the current situation. One is to underestimate our difficulties, the other is to unjustifiably drama-That is why a realistic account and a realistic and differtize our situation. entiated evaluation of the situation are so important. Not only the central bodies but also all the local units engaged in economic activity need a realistic account of the situation in order to be able to evaluate precisely what are the things that we have already carried out and what tasks we can fulfill or must expect to fulfill by the end of the year.

We Should Evaluate Everyone According to His/Her Performance

The National Trade Union Council can justifiably conclude that the measures that the government bodies have taken in the course of the current year in order to favorably influence the situation have been based on a realistic evaluation of the situation as a whole. Accordingly, the trade unions have supported the measures aimed at encouraging exports accounted in convertible currencies and increasing the requirements for efficiency and the trade unions have not objected even to measures limiting the outflow of income and which guarantee better harmony between performance and wages—When these measures have become necessary. We supported and accepted these measures in the awareness that we are representing the interests of the entire society and of all the workers because it is to the detriment of all of us if incomes are not adjusted to actual performance.

The same consideration led us to urge that the situation of areas and sectors with lasting payment problems be settled, and, with the genuine contribution of the trade unions, adequate decisions in this respect have already been taken this year. Similarly we accepted and regarded as important the establishment of the new reorganization and rehabilitation measures and liquidation measures, while naturally paying attention to safeguarding the fundamental interests of the workers, and adequate guarantees have been established in this respect.

Im embarking on this road—with these measures among other things—our goal is to turn a new leaf and we should evaluate everyone on the basis of genuine performance, whether it be enterprise, individuals, organizations, or institutions. All this is important also because this depends mostly on us, as opposed to the majority of the external circumstances, the unfavorable change in the terms of trade, the drought, the extremely difficult winter, the losses due to exchange

rate fluctuations, etc, circumstances that have had quite an unfavorable influence on the Hungarian economy in 1986 and some of them for even longer, and we can influence only some of these circumstances.

The requirements are formulated by the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress, the endeavors of the 25th TU Congress, as well as by the goals and priorities of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and these requirements are submitted to us by the majority of the workers too. What we are talking about, therefore, is nothing else but how to assert our decisions more consistently than hitherto.

The SZOT secretary pointed out in his speech that the current situation requires better work from all of us; from leader and workers, engineer and economist, trade union activists and people engaged in economic management. It is no doubt true that the majority of our problems derive from the contradictions existing in our social and economic relations, which, in turn, derive mostly from the temporary character of our social relations, but we can also see that we sometimes blame these factors more than is justified. The lack of supervision and calling to account, laxity, undisciplined work and income acquired dishonestly, all these phenomena can only partially be explained by objective socioeconomic causes. These phenomena include all the weaknesses of our work too, weaknesses which we cannot seek and find excuses for by starting from "objective conditions." We must, however, find a solution in order to eliminate the contradictions, among other things, by greater publicity in the course of decisions and their implementation, something in which the trade unions, as the most comprehensive organization of active workers, are playing a considerable role.

We Support the Strengthening of Order, Discipline, and Organization

Speaking about the tasks facing the trade union movement, Sandor Nagy pointed out that it is our important task and assignment to participate in formulating plans and concepts at all levels of economic management and in the course of this activity to represent and protect the workers' interests. It is the task of the trade unions to represent the widest interests of society and the workers in the course of analyzing the most comprehensive issues and in the case of decisions affecting all of society. In the current situation, there is a particular need for the trade union movement too to make sure that partial interests do not come into the forefront to the detriment of the wider interests of society. Our work in representing interests does not begin with an expression of our positions to the state and economic leadership. This must be preceded by "arranging" the various interests also within the trade union movement.

The Hungarian trade unions have a say and play a role in formulating concepts, the trade unions have a genuine possibility of representing the workers' interests and making their position accepted—the SZOT secretary said. We must understand at all levels of the trade union movement that just as this is one of the trade movement's achievements, so to the same extent it confers responsibility on the trade union. And today this responsibility is much greater than previously because the trade unions must look for ways of solving certain problems in a more difficult situation and under more complex conditions. The

trade unions also have the job of making sure that workers public opinion is to the widest extent aware of our economic situation, our plans, or tasks, and the concrete tasks of a given enterprise of organization engaged in economic activity, including the role of each individual worker. If the workers of an enterprise are not aware of the enterprise's plans, this is not only the mistake of the economic leadership but also of the trade union bodies. In places where the employees are not aware of the situation, tasks, and possibilities of the enterprise or institution, it is almost impossible for them to give their best. Of course, it is impossible to replace the role of incentives with something else and it is essential that how much one earns is in accordance with the work one does. But it is an underestimation of the workers if anyone thinks that a collective of workers is interested only in this and does not want to know the reason for what they are doing.

Today, our most important task is to urge and help the best possible solution of this year's concrete economic tasks at all levels of the economy and management.

Analyzing the situation, Sandor Nagy said that, according to the statistics of the first 8 months of the year, our losses and lagging behind are considerable but there are still 4 months left and it really matters what happens in these 4 months. We must not allow ourselves to be dominated by unfounded pessimism and a bad mood that can lead to inability to act—the SZOT secretary stressed. The economy of this country is able to produce more than what it is doing today. Then, Sandor Nagy spoke about the fact that we must thoroughly discover the reasons why the economic performance is lagging behind not only the desirable but also the possible level and we must make the necessary decisions on the necessary tasks.

The trade union movement—the speaker said—accepts a responsible role in this activity. That is why I propose to the National Council that it take a position on the need to concentrate our forces in the remaining 4 months on helping and encouraging the implementation of the production tasks and on laying the foundations of the year 1987. The National Council should call upon the trade union bodies, the workers and the leaders active in the various positions of economic management and organization to apply their knowledge and energy so as to come as close as possible to this year's plans, goals , and where possible, implement them. The trade union movement should support the efforts directed toward strengthening order, discipline, and organization at all levels because this is in the interest of honestly working people.

The SZOT should call upon the socialist brigades, the workers' collectives in enterprises, and the workers working history, agriculture, construction, mining, transportation, and commerce to join forces and, where justified and possible, increases performance by uncovering the resources. We regard it similarly imimportant for the people working in services, education, the health service, and culture to contribute too to the implementation of the tasks facing the country and to the safeguarding and creation of an appropriate mood in society.

The Basic Organizations Should Work Out Their Tasks

A particular and untransferrable responsibility falls on the leaders whose efficiency or lack of efficiency in their activity greatly affects the activity of the working collective. Therefore, we separately call upon the leaders to make use of their rights and responsibilities by relying on the workplace collectives and also demanding the help and supervision of the trade unions--the SZOT secertary said and pointed out that the SZOT is aware of the fact that concrete tasks can be determined well only locally. The workers of a given enterprise can really tell where they can and must improve efficiency by organizing extra shifts, by making a pledge in work competition, discovering innovations and by rationalizing material and energy consumption, and where they can and must increase the exports accounted in convertible currency by way of efficiently increasing production. Therefore, the SZOT calls upon the basic organizations to discuss soon, if possible still in the first half of the current month, at steward body meetings, at trade union steward meetings, at aktive meetings, or at any of the enterprise's democratic forums what they can and must do in order to improve the economic and management results and what are the tasks of the trade unions in this activity. There is a need for concrete and operative discussions and decisions that are followed by actions. We ask the sector, industrial branch trade unions, the country trade union councils and all the other trade union bodies to help us in this work.

The SZOT at the same time expresses its appreciation to the working collectives which, with their high level activity, assume the lion's share in the creation of the stock of export goods and in laying the foundations of domestic supply—said Sandor Nagy and then spoke about the fact that, in the coming years, perhaps already in 1987 too, we will influence the rules governing interest, incentives, and wages, and the conditions of production in a way that those collectives that are working well will receive greater possibilities. In the long run, this is in the interest of all of us, also of those who have to expect more modest conditions than others who are in the forefront.

In conclusion, the SZOT secretary stressed that we are calling upon the organized workers with the awareness and conviction that we have always received active support from them and have overcome difficulties by joining forces. But we are also aware of the fact that no one, including the trade union movement, can abuse the workers' confidence. Therefore, if the trade union movement now requires greater efforts from them, the workers too justifiably expect from the trade unions that they will do more, and more efficiently, for the representation of the legitimate interests of the workers and for the creation of socioeconomic conditions that will bring about a shift from the current situation.

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CSO: 2500/15

POLITICS HUNGARY

NATIONAL PARAMILITARY ASSOCIATION HOLDS CONFERENCE

 ${\tt AU090553}$ Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Sep 86 p 5

[MTI report: "Increasing Mass Support for the Hungarian National Defense Association--Fifth National Conference of the Leaders of the Hungarian National Defense Association"]

[Text] The fifth national conference of the professional and voluntary leaders of the Hungarian National Defense Association [MHSZ] was held at the builders headquarters in Budapest on 6 September. The heads and delegates of the country and town organizations, departments, and clubs reviewed the defense educational and training work carried out in the 5 years since the previous conference as well as the activity of the defense technical mass and competition sports departments. Present at the conference were Peter Varga, head of a department of the MSZMP Central Committee and member of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Lieutenant General Lajos Morocz, state secretary for defense and member of the MSZMP Central Committee, as well as several representatives of the partner armed forces. Major General Gyorgy Keri, general secretary of the MHSZ, summed up in his report the evaluation of the MHSZ leadership.

The widespread network of MHSZ county organizations and clubs has become an organic part of our society's political life and its influence is felt over a wide strata of the population, Keri said among other things. The MHSZ fulfilled its tasks at a higher level than previously: education for a healthier way of life, the defense training of the youth, and arousing their interest towards technology, as well as the general instruction of youth subject to conscription—thus, the necessary knowledge for their military service increased and so did their adjustment to military life. The society's support for the MHSZ has widened considerably in recent years; the number of clubs increased and so did the number of members.

The MHSZ general secretary also spoke about the achievements and problems of the activity of the departments. Every year, many hundreds of thousands of young people get basic knowledge or extend their knowledge in flying, diver, model airplane, radio, shooting, vehicle driver, communication, hot-air balloon, and glider departments and clubs. There will be other MHSZ clubs organized in education institutions, and more colorful and personal propaganda will be carried out among the population, primarily the youth, in the coming years as well. In addition to declaring new competitions and organizing lectures and

defense days and exhibitions, the MHSZ intends to organize a spartachiade-type mass sports movement together with KISZ, the National Youth and Sports Office, and the National Trade Union Council. New departments will be established and the use of video and computer technology will increase in the clubs. The fact that, in addition to the general schools, the MHSZ wishes now also to increase the number of its clubs in the institutes of higher education, in residential districts, and in workshops is aimed at strengthening the character of the MHSZ as a movement.

Following the report made by the general secertary, 17 other people took the floor at the conference. The speakers confirmed the report with examples and made proposals on new methods to fulfill the tasks. Tamas Tibor, deputy chairman of the National Youth and Sports Office, spoke about the cooperation between the new office and the MHSZ needed for the implementation of the common goals in educating the youth. Sandor Szoradi, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, asked the participants in the conference to help develop commitment among the youth by making personal examples and by education. Analyzing the general and career-directing activity carried out by the MHSZ in the course of its defense education, Lt Gen Lajos Morocz stressed that it is in the interest of both society and the people's army that a strong, healthy youth capable of overcoming physical and spiritual difficulties grow up as adults.

In his address, Peter Varga stressed the importance of political work and of the youth's ideological and moral education.

Following the speeches, decorations were given to 48 members for their activity carried out so far.

In his concluding speech, General Secretary Keri pointed out that the entire system of tasks of the MHSZ is basically an activity of education. This determines the working methods that can be applied efficiently both in small communities, in clubs, and in the association.

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BRIEFS

CHURCH TALKS HELD--On Monday [8 September] State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, received in his office Jose Maria Belcells, general of the Piarist Order, who is on a visit in our homeland. [Text] [Budapest NEGSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 86 p 8 AU] /12232

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ARGENTINA--Raul Alfonsin, president of the Republic of Argentina, received Marton Klein, ambassador or our country in Buenos Aires, who presented his credentials. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 86 p 8 AU] /12232

NEW AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRALIA-Pal Ipper, our country's ambassador to the Commonwealth of Australia, presented his credentials on 12 September to Governor General Sir Ninian Stephen. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Sep 86 p 21 AU] /12232

NEW AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL—Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Istvan Sarlos, chairman of the National Assembly, received Gabor Suto, Hungary's ambassador accredited to the Federative Republic of Brazil, who is to leave for his post in the near future. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 86 p 8 AU] /12232

NEW PPF DEPARTMENT—MTI—Based on the Eighth PPF Congress, the National Council of the PPF formed a Sociopolitical Council that will operate under the National Presidium of the PPF. The council members include prominent scholars in sociology and environmental studies, writers, economists, and industrial and agricultural experts. Chairman of the body is Zsuzsa Ferge, head of the Scientific Department at the Sociology Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who was asked by the PPF National Council to act in this position. At the 4 September statutory meeting plans were accepted according to which the Sociopolitical Council will deal with issues affecting our entire population and will examine in this respect certain problems it might encourter. It will forward its proposals mainly to elected agencies of the PPF. Conferences and debates will be regularly reported in PPF publications. Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the PPF National Council, attended and addressed the first Sociopolitical Council session. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Sep 86 p 5 AU] /12232

INDUSTRY MINISTER VISITS U.S.--MTI--At the invitation of Malcolm Baldrige, secretary of commerce of the United States, Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry, arrived in Washington on Sunday [7 September]. During his visit he will meet several members of the American Government, hold discussions with representatives of American business circles, and meet the representatives of international monetary organizations situated in Washington. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 86 p 5 AU] Industry Minister Laszlo Kapolyi returned from the United States on 16 September, which he visited at the invitation of Malcolm Baldrige, secretary of commerce, Laszlo Kapolyi was received by George Bush, vice president of the United States, and held talks with various senators, bankers, and representatives of large corporations. In Los Angeles he met Armand Hammer, president of Occidential Petroleum. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 86 p 5 AU] /12232

ETHIOPIAN PARTY DELEGATION VISITS—A delegation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia led by Mersie Ejigu, member of the Central Committee and minister of the National Central Planning Office, visited Hungary 13-19 September at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. The delegation was received by MSZMP Politburo member Laszlo Morothy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Ethiopian Mixed Economic, Scientific-Technical, and Trade Cooperation Committee. The delegation held talks with MSZMP Central Committee member Lajos Faluvegi, chairman of the National Planning Office, and other leading personalities. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Sep 86 p 4 AU] /12232

MAROTHY VISITS KAPOSVAR POLYTECHNIC--Laszlo Marothy has visited Somogy County. The member of the MSZMP Politburo, deputy premier, first heard a briefing about the situation and tasks of the county. The briefing was held in Kaposvar. Then he visited the Kaposvar Agricultural Polytechnic which as of this year is operating as part of the University of Keszthely. His 1-day program ended with an inspection of the experimental stag farm at Galosfa near the seat of Somogy County. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Sep 86 LD] /12232

LOSONCZI GREETS ORTEGA--On the occasion of the national day of the Republic of Nicaragua, Pal Losonsci, president of the Presidential Council, greeted in a telegram Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua.

[Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 86 p 8 AU] /12232

CSO: 2500/15

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT WORKING PEOPLES CONGRESS

AU081631 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Romania President Nicolae Ceausescu at the conclusion of the Third Working People's Congress on 6 September in Bucharest]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The Third Working People's Congress ends in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and full unity around the party, the nation's leading political force which ensures Romania's firm progress toward communism! (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!").

More than 600 participants took the floor in the plenary proceedings and in the councils according to branches of activity. Many proposals were made on improving activities in all sectors and on certain concrete technical-material problems.

Generally speaking, one can say that the discussions proceeded in a spirit of high responsibility for the future of our fatherland. At the same time, they were characterized by a critical and, one could also say, self-critical attitude toward a number of shortcomings and deficiencies in the overall activity and in the activity of various socioeconomic fields and units. The proposals made and commitments assumed during the Congress' plenary proceedings and in the councils have voiced the unanimous will of all working people and the entire nation to do all they can to speedily eliminate negative states of affairs and improve the work aimed at unswervingly implementing our fatherland's socioeconomic plans and programs and raising the people's material and cultural well-being. (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "We will work and struggle for the good of the fatherland!").

Therefore, one can justifiably assert that the entire preparation of the Congress and the unfolding of its proceedings prove the broadly democratic character of the working people's councils, of this Congress and the National Council, which ensure the participation of the workers class, all working people, and the entire nation in the active and conscious leadership of the entire process of promoting the economic development of the fatherland, raising it to higher peaks of progress and civilization, and further enhancing the material and cultural strength of Romania as well as its independence and

sovereignty! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescy and the people!" and "Ceausescy-Romania, our esteem and pride!").

At the conclusion of this Congress, I would like to stress again that the 1986-90 plan, the development prospects up to the year 2000, and the progress on improving the entire activity and strengthening the workers' self-management, self-administration, and self-financing represent the creative thinking of the entire party and all the people, who are masters of their destiny and are fashioning their development path and communist future in full freedom. (Prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-ECE!" and "Ceausescu and the people!").

With the unanimous adoption of our socioeconomic development plans and programs, the Working People's Congress marks the end of a broad democratic discussion on attaining the basic target established by the 13th RCP Congress and implementing the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's firm progress toward communism; the Working People's Congress has set an overall orientation for Romania's development and progress toward ever higher peaks of progress! (Loud chasus and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!").

We have real plans and programs, which fully meet the needs and will of compeople and the material and scientific-technical strength of our fatherland. Now, after these broad discussions in all fields, I believe that all our development programs and plans have been properly mastered and understood. Therefore, it is now necessary to proceed resolutely to practical and concrete activity to expediently implement all plans and programs, raise our fatherland to a pinnacle of progress and civilization, and secure for our nation a dignified place among the nations of the world. (Loud and prolonged applicates prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!"; "We will work, we will struggle, we will raise the fatherland!"; and "Ceausescu-Heroism, Romaniam.").

At the end of the Congress, I would like to point out—as many comrades did during their address to the Congress—that from a material and human viewpoint we have everything required to implement all decisions adopted. We have large—scope programs and a sure guide and tried leader, which has proven, in its 65 years of activity and in the years of socialist construction, that it holds nothing more close to heart than the interests of the nation, the cause of the victory of socialism and communism in our fatherland, and ensuring the freedom and independence of Romania! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheener prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people"; and "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!").

Moreover, we have a wonderful workers class, which actual fact has proven that it can honorably fulfill its function as the leading class in our society and its mission to unite all social classes and forces under the leadership of the party, in order to attain our people's golden dream. (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!").

Likewise, through their entire activity our peasantry, intelligentsia, other social classes and categories, all working people, regardless of nationality, and the entire nation have proven that they are the basic guarantee for implementing the fatherland's socioeconomic development programs. We owe everything we have attained to our workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and the entire nation, as they represent our strength and the guarantee of the successful; fulfillment of all programs and decisions! (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "We will work and we will struggle for the good of the fatherland!").

We must realize that the thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people is not a general propaganda notion or slogan, but rather a reality of our society. We will ensure the victory of socialism and the future of our fatherland only together with the people, by uniting the entire nation around the party! (Prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!").

Now, after the plans and programs for our fatherland's socioeconomic development have been unanimously adopted, all our party-state management bodies, the party Central Committee, the government, the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the National Council of Working People, and other bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy should responsibly fulfill their role of properly organizing activities in all fields. It is now decisive to adopt organizational measures for a rational distribution of forces and cadres and to pool the efforts of all working people toward a single goal, namely, the unswerving implementation of our development plans and programs. Only thus will all these bodies be able to justify the trust placed in them by the party and people, and fulfill their duty to the fatherland and Romania's golden future! (Loud cheers and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Our esteem and pride, Ceausescu-Romania!").

I deem it necessary to stress again that it is not enough to admit shortcomings, to voice criticism, and self-criticism. A critical and self-critical spirit is very important, but not enough. We cannot be content with criticism and self-criticism alone. We need facts and actions to remove shortcomings and ensure the smooth development of the entire activity; otherwise, criticism and self-criticism become demagoguery—forgive me for saying this, but this is the truth—and cease to be a force which unleashes creative energies. Only by resolutely acting in a new and revolutionary spirit, will we practice true criticism and self-criticism. Let us have criticism and self-criticism through facts and achievements! Only thus can we prove that we act as revolutionaries and true communists! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers).

On the basis of the 13th RCP Congress decisions and of decisions adopted by our Congress, we are embarking upon a new development stage. Romania will become a medium developed country. We must implement the new scientifictechnical revolution and the new Agrarian revolution, achieve new quality in work and life, and ensure the intensive development of all fields of activity. All this represents a unified process of great revolutionary changes in all socioeconomic sectors and the entire society; it represents a new and higher

stage of the socialist revolution in our fatherland. (Loud and prolonged applause).

The revolution for social and national liberation, the socialist revolution, and the other stages of our revolution thus far have been carried out by revolutionaries who, in the respective stages of the revolution, have engaged themselves with all their might—some of them have even sacrificed their lives—for the victory of the revolution and for a revolutionary change in society. The implementation of great revolutionary changes at this new stage also requires revolutionary militants with a high revolutionary spirit of self-denial in their entire activity!

We now need a new kind of revolutionary, with high professional, technical, scientific, and cultural training in all fields, a revolutionary who understands the laws of nature and the laws governing social development. Only with such revolutionaries will we be able to ensure our march forward and implement the new goals of the revolution! (Loud and prolonged applause).

In the current stage we must build a new and comprehensively developed society, therefore in all fields we must act as revolutionaries; we should not limit ourselves to eliminating the old, but rather we should promote the new and replace the old with everything that is good and new from all viewpoints! Only thus will we act as true revolutionaries; only thus will we do our duty to our people and the fatherland's future! (Loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!").

We highly value the revolutionaries and patriots who fought to remove the exploiting classes and ensured the victory of revolution and socialism. However, I must openly say before the Congress and the people that—in spite of the fact that they had to make many sacrifices and even give their lives when necessary—the revolutionary struggle and the removal of the exploiting classes were, to a certain extent, easier than the current struggle, as we had to remove a society which was already doomed, a society which inevitably had to make room for a better and more just one.

Many sacrifices were made and the Romanian Communists and revolutionaries have honorably fulfilled their obligations to the people! Our party proved to be a true and tried leader of the people's struggle for socialism. But now, in the new stage of our revolution, we are faced with much more complex and even more difficult problems. It is not enough to shout "Down with the bourgeoisie" or to rise to arms. This was very important at the proper time; but now we are dutybound to build, forge, and prove that we can lead better than those we removed from power; and we have proved that in the more than 40 years of socialist construction. However, we now have new tasks and this requires a self-denying spirit, advanced and broader knowledge, and much more intensive and comprehensive activity. This is the revolutionary who is building the communist society; this is the revolutionary who will have to ensure Romania's golden future! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP! and "Ceausescu and the people!").

In the vast revolutionary process of socialist construction, we have attained a huge quantitative accumulation in the socioeconomic development of the

entire society. We must now proceed to new quality and turn quantity into new and higher quality. This presupposes a revolutionary change of our entire society.

In the revolutionary stages covered thus far, we have also made new changes in the field of social relations, on the basis of the lasting alliance between the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and other social categories and the brotherhood between all working people, regardless of nationality. In this new stage of our revolution, we must turn the alliance and cooperation between the workers class, other social classes and categories, and the working people of various nationalities into the unity of all these classes and social categories and the unity of the entire nation, thus proceeding to new quality and the forging of a unified working people, the new unified socialist nation. (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!").

The implementation of great revolutionary changes in all fields during the new stage of our socialist revolution requires, I repeat, new revolutionaries, a new spirit of revolutionary struggle and work, and a new man with high awareness and an exacting attitude toward shortcomings, a man who is unflinchingly determined to ensure our march forward. Therefore, in this vast revolutionary process we must change man, we must change ourselves, in order to carry out the new revolution!

One should learn and go on learning; one should master the latest achievements in science, technology, and all fields of activity! Let us resolutely work to further improve ourselves in order to uncover new secrets of nature and universe and increase our knowledge in the social and universal fields. Only thus will we be able to ensure proper leadership and the implementation of the vast revolutionary process of raising our fatherland to new peaks of socialist and communist civilization! Only on the basis of the latest achievements in all fields will we be able to build a better and more just world and ensure the victory of communism in our fatherland! (Loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu-Heroism, Romania-Communism!").

In accordance with the new sage of our revolutionary process, we must further increase the spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline and resolutely eliminate bureaucratism, formalism, and self-complacency. We must attain a new style of work. The entire activity should be concentrated in units and at the place of work! This is where the management cadres should be! Their work place should be in the units, factories, plants, and agricultural farms, not in Bucharest offices! Good quality, progress, and plan fulfillment are being decided there, in the units! This is where the activity of party-state cadres from all fields should be focused. (Loud and prolonged applause).

Acting in a revolutionary, communist spirit we must eliminate from our activity everything that is outdated and is no longer in keeping with the new development stage. We must change our thinking and activity; we must even remove from our vocabulary the saying "it is not possible" and use only the expression "everything is possible." We must always proceed from the revolutionary concept according to which there are no problems that cannot be resolved! We have numerous achievements in all areas which demonstrate that

it is fully possible to implement all programs and fulfill all our plans and that nothing can stop our people's determined progress toward the golden dream, communism. (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and 'Ceausescu-RCP!")

The Congress discussed and gave many examples of a number of positive achievements. In conclusion, too, I want to mention that there are indeed many results and examples in all areas in our industry which demonstrate that when work is performed with fervor and in a revolutionary spirit one can attain excellent achievements. We have numerous achievements which have substantially reduced consumption and made available new materials; we have numerous achievements and pieces of equipment which have increased productivity several times over. I have therefore said that we are fully confident that we are able to achieve everything we have proposed to achieve in all areas! I shall give an example from agriculture. A few years ago, when we discussed an output of 20,000 kilograms of corn per hectare, of 8,000-10,000 kg of barley and wheat per hectare, and high yields of other agricultural produce, many people were mistrustful and some people thought these utopian requirements. However, this year--and in preceding years in fact--a great number of units achieved such outputs while others achieved even larger yields of corn. On all its lands Old County, one of the grain farming counties, has achieved an average yield of 7,000 kg of barley per hectare, 6,000 kg of wheat per hectare, and more than 21,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare. (Loud, prolonged applause.)

On the basis of achievements which cannot be denied by anyone, we can state that we have indeed succeeded in laying a lasting foundation for implementing the new agrarian revolution and that the outputs we propose to achieve can be achieved and even be exceeded, and we can state that our socialist agriculture has great possibilities—like our industry—to demonstrate its superiority and the strength of people who are masters of their destiny! (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!") On the basis of these achievements, the political executive committee has decided to institute the order of "hero of the new Agrarian Revolution" and it has decided that the first county to be awarded this order for the results achieved will be Old County. (Loud applause, cheers).

On the basis of conclusions drawn in agriculture, we are thinking of revising emulation in industry and awarding the order of "hero of socialist labor" by setting new targets in keeping with the new scientific-technological revolution and intensive development. The criterior for such an award will no longer be the achievement of average production over several years but rather the achievement of production which will indeed demonstrate revolutionary boldness and that the working people in the given county or sector are really heroes of socialist labor. (Loud, prolonged applause).

When I speak about agriculture and industry, I also include science and education, because the activity carried out in all areas is indivisibly linked to the results of science and to the application of its achievements in practice. Therefore, the granting of the high order of "hero of socialist labor" or of other distinctions to research and education will be linked to

the implementation of the same targets put forward by the Party Congress and by the working People's Congress. (Loud, prolonged applause).

We have, indeed, achieved numerous results. We have many activists and many working people who are working with revolutionary devotion and are doing all they can to optimally fulfill their mission and their tasks. Unfortunately, however, we still have people who do not always act in this spirit. One could say in general that our cadres' work and attitude toward resolving problems show several tendencies. When a decision is being adopted, when various targets are set forth, there are some people--I could even say the majority of them--who think of how they could optimally fulfill all targets and how to achieve positive results in implementing them. There is, however, another group of people who are satisfied to continue to work as they did in the past without making greater efforts--thus achieving average outputs or results--in the belief that they are thus fulfilling their duty. There is a third group of people who, from the very beginning, declare that the targets put forward are too high, difficult, or even unattainable. Many of these people use the greater part of their time in collecting as much proof as possible to justify the nonfulfillment of plans and programs.

Often I meet people--and this is not just a theory--who when asked: Why has the plan not been fulfilled? Answer: Comrade, I will immediately fetch the documents, they are in my office, written, and I will demonstrate that we have been unable to achieve more, it is not possible to achieve more. It is obvious from the very beginning that with such a position and such activists one cannot--even if one wishes--fulfill one's duty properly and there are bound to be lags. There is no way to avoid lags! When we speak about revolutionary spirit and about new revolutionaries, I am thinking of the first group of activists. When we propose to do something, let us think that it is possible and that we must succeed, act, and do all we can achieve that is necessary. Only thus will we act as revolutionaries! The second group of people who are satisfied with average results cannot be viewed as real revolutionaries either, and even less so the third group. I am stating this frankly before the Congress and our people because we must draw all necessary conclusions from this situation. You should not take it amiss that I am going to refer to agriculture again. I have talked with the comrades who went to Olt County for an exchange of experience. Prior to this, many of them came to say that there had been a drought in their county and they brought all kinds of arguments along these lines, but the fact is that they produced little wheat and corn. Before going to Olt Country, some people said: "This propaganda, this cannot be true!" Only after they had been to Olt County and seen what had been achieved, they said: "We could not imagine that it is possible to work like that in agriculture." (Loud applause) However, in spring the first secretary of the party aktiv of Olt County did not think of approaching the ADAS [State Insurance Administration] and others to collect documents to the effect that crops were compromised. They began to make up for lags and to work the land to ensure yields. I am saying this--I want to repeat--because such things also happen in industry and in other areas. We must completely eliminate such situations! We need revolutionaries and activists who will act to seek solutions to all kinds of problems--and there is no problem that cannot be resolved! Therefore I said that we must eliminate from our vocabulary and never use the expression "It is not

possible." We must use under any circumstances only the expression "It is possible" and thus we will even move mountains if need be! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride")

In all our activity and in all areas we must always bear in mind the present and future of Romania. As communists, as revolutionaries, as activists, and as the holders of various positions in the party and state leadership, we must be aware that we bear a tremendous responsibility toward the future of our homeland! Let us think of what our homeland will look like in the year 2000, 2010, and 2050 and what its future will be among the nations of this world! We must understand that today we are responsible for tomorrow's future and for Romania's future in the year 2050, and let us work in this spirit! This is what it means to be a revolutionary and a communist! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

It is in this revolutionary spirit that we must act to solve international problems. It is not enough that we have been able to prevent a war up to now. It is surely a great achievement, but huge amounts of nuclear weapons have been stockpiled in the world which are able to destroy the whole of mankind and the very existence of life on our planet. We, today's generation, are responsible for the fact that we have not been able to stop the stockpiling of means of destruction in the world! This is why, when our Congress stressed that we must do all we can for disarmament and peace and when we adopted the appeal to all governments and peoples in the world, we did it with complete responsibility toward our people, but also toward the whole of mankind, toward the future, and the existence of life on our planet! (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu--peace!")

A radical change is also needed in international relations. One must completely renounce the use or threat of force and proceed to resolving all disputes between states through negotiations alone. It must be well understood that any other way, force, and interference in the affairs of other countries are incompatible with the interests and peoples' aspirations for freedom and independence. We must determinedly combat any form of terrorism which has always been a way that is at variance with the interests of the people's masses. Revolutionary changes, the revolution have not been achieved and cannot be achieved through any kind of terrorist actions, but through the united, revolutionary struggle of peoples, through constructive actions, through the struggle against what is old, and through the construction work aimed at a new, better, and more just system. (Loud, prolonged applause) In international relations we must act to establish respect for other peoples and for the right of each nation to decide the development road it desires, without any outside interference. In conclusion, once again I want to repeat that we must do all we can to unite the efforts of all peoples to ensure the triumph of reason, the victory of peace, and achieve disarmament and a world without weapons and wars, a world of peace and equal cooperation among all world nations! (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-Romania, peace and friendship!")

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Dear comrades, the Congress and councils discussed at length the achievements in the first eight months and the nonfulfillments up to now. Thus, each area and each unit is aware of what has to be done and how they have to work to optimally fulfill this year's plan. There are four months left of the current year. This is not much, but I believe that there is enough time to make up for lags in certain areas and to ensure the fulfillment of this year's plan in all areas and even exceed it.

Determined action has to be taken immediately—as the Congress pointed out, and as was stressed by all ministry leaderships in the past few days—to optimally fulfill the plan, to fulfill the export plan and all investment projects. In the coming two to three days all areas, all units, and all counties must establish firm and immediate measures to ensure the proper organization of work, of shifts, and to make maximum use of the forces available to fulfill the plan under most favorable conditions. Through the way in which we fulfill this year's plan we will demonstrate that we have drawn all the necessary conclusions from the Congress discussions and that we are determined to eliminate failings and ensure that the targets we have unanimously proposed will be implemented unswervingly. I am convinced that you will act in this spirit! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "We will work and struggle for the good of the homeland!")

From the high rostrum of the great forum of workers revolutionary democracy I launch a warm appeal to all working people's councils, to all working people, and to our whole nation to do all they can to optimally fulfill this year's plan, the overall 5-Year Plan, and to act with great determination to ensure Romania's firm advance toward new heights of progress and civilization, toward the victory of socialism and communism in Romania, and the homeland's elevation to a most dignified rank among the world's free nations! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

In conclusion, I want to extend to you, to all participants in the 3d Working People's Congress, to all working people, and all our people best wishes for fresh accomplishments and great achievements in all areas to the benefit of our homeland, the people's well-being, and Romania's independence and sovereignty! (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Our esteem and pride--Ceausescu, Romania!")

Long live the RCP, the leading political force of our whole nation and the guarantee for implementing all targets aimed at Romania's revolutionary transformation and at the victory of Communism! (Loud cheers, applause; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Long live our wonderful workers class, the peasantry, Intelligentsia, and all working people! Long live our wonderful people, conscious forgers of their new, free, and independent history! (Loud applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

May relations of cooperation with all socialist countries, with all world countries, irrespective of social system, develop constantly! May reason triumph in the struggle for disarmament; may cooperation and peace throughout the world triumph! (Loud applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-Peace!")

I declare the proceedings of the 3d Working People's Congress closed!

Much good health and happiness! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-Peace!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity, all those present in the big Congress hall stand up and give ovations for minutes on end to the RCP-the leading political force of our whole nation—to the party Secretary General and President of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

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CEAUSESCU GREETS ZHIVKOV ON 75TH BIRTHDAY

AU081534 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov,

On your 75th birthday, I have the particular pleasure of extending to you warm and friendly greetings, most cordial congratulations, and heartfelt wishes for personal health and happiness and for new successes in implementing the 12th BCP Congress decisions and promoting the further development of neighboring and friendly Bulgaria, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and all the Romanian people, as well as in my own behalf and on behalf of my wife Elena Ceausescu.

On this occasion, I would like to stress our party's and people's high appreciation for your direct contribution to strengthening friendship and developing cooperation between the RCP and BCP and between the Sr of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Our meetings and the understandings and decisions adopted on those occasions have always emphasized the traditional Romanian-Bulgarian ties and opened up broad prospects for our cooperation in all fields.

We know and value your untiring activity aimed at building the new socialist system in the People's Republic of Bulgaria as well as your contribution to developing cooperation and strengthening solidarity among communist and workers parties and democratic and progressive forces and to promoting the cause of detente, disarmament, security, and peace in the world.

I would like to point with satisfaction to the active cooperation between our parties and countries aimed at turning the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, constructively solving the great problems of international life, and building a better and more just world.

I express the conviction that the good relations between our parties and countries will further expand and develop, to the benefit of the Romanian and

Bulgarian peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, cooperation, security, and peace in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world.

With the warmest friendly sentiments,

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

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LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE TO ZHIVKOV, ATANASOV

AU110807 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Esteemed comrades: On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, we extend warm friendly greetings and sincere congratulations to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to all Bulgarian working people on the 42d anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The 9 September 1944 revolutionary act has created conditions for building the new system in your homeland and for profound and renewing socioeconomic changes. Our party and people highly appreciate the noteworthy results achieved—under the party's leadership—by the Bulgarian people in socialist construction, in developing the economic, science, and culture, and in ensuring material and cultural well—being.

On this occasion, too, we want to express particular satisfaction with the development of traditional relations of friendship between our countries, parties, and peoples and to affirm the conviction that these relations will continue to develop more and more to the benefit of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, the cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world.

On your national holiday, we hope that you and all Bulgarian communists and working people will increasingly achieve greater successes in implementing the 13th BCP Congress decisions and in building the developed socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania.

/12913 CSO: 2020/8 POLITICS ROMANIA

ROMANIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW

AU131515 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1312 GMT 13 Sep 86

[Text] Moscow (AGERPRES) 13 September 1986--A Union Conference of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association (APSR) was held in Moscow.

Both the report on the associations' activity, read by Y.I. Knotop, APSR Central Leadership chairman, and the addresses made by the delegates to the conference highlighted the great significance of the victorious 23 August 1944 anti-Fascist and anti-Imperialist revolution of social and national liberation the Romanian people achieved under the direct guidance of the Romanian Communist Party, Romania's achievements in the socio-economic realm, in science and culture, the many sided development of the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples. Stress was laid on the fact that the friendly working visit the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, paid to the Soviet Union on 16 May, his talks with the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev, the understandings covenanted on the occasion had made an outstanding contribution to the growing collaboration between the RCP and the CPSU, between Romania and the Soviet Union, in the interests of the two countries' peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace, international collaboration and security.

Placing emphasis on the growth of Romanian-Soviet relations, the speaker expressed his conviction that they would take an ever ascending course and further deepen for the benefit of the two countries and peoples. The speaker made reference to the cooperation between the APSR and the APRS.

Iulian Cirtina, prorector of the University of Bucharest, head of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association (APRS) delegation invited to the conference, also took the floor.

The conference elected a new Central Leadership of the APSR. S.G. Shcherbakov, candidate member of the CC of the CPSU, minister of education of the USSR, was elected chairman of the Central Leadership of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association.

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR

AU191348 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1250 GMT 19 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19 September 1986--On 19 September, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Mokhtar Kaci-Abdallah who presented his credentials as ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to Romania.

Cordial salutes were exchanged on the occasion between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Chadli Bendjedid.

The address presented by the ambassador shows that the Algerian people, Algeria's leadership are highly appreciative of the social and economic progress made by the Romanian people, of the consistency of the policy promoted by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu devoted to peace, security and international collaboration, to the strengthening of the Romanian-Algerian ties of friendship and cooperation. The Algerian ambassador's wish is expressed to work for the consolidation of the friendly and cooperative links between Algeria and Romania.

In his address Romania's president points out that the links of friendship and cooperation established between the two countries as early as the years of the Algerian people's fight for national independence witness an ever ascending course. Given the possibilities of the national economies of Romania and Algeria, the interests and aspirations after progress of the two countries, conditions are in place for the Romanian-Algerian ties to develop even more powerfully in the future in the economic, technical, scientific and other areas.

The address also highlights that Romania, working with all its forces for its socialist development, also carries on a broad international activity, continuously strengthens its collaboration and cooperation with all the states of the world, takes an active part in the efforts for disarmament and peace, for a constructive resolution of the major and complex problems confronting our time.

After the credentials presentation ceremony President Nicolae Ceausescu conversed with Ambassador Mokhtar Kaci-Abdallah.

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CEAUSESCU REPORT TO PEC ON TALKS WITH PAPANDREOU

AU191815 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1641 GMT 19 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19 September 1986--During the 19 September meeting of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee chaired by RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu an account was read of the Bucharest talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Andreas Papandreou.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the results of the recent interview between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Andreas Papandreou, which falls within the context of the traditional Romanian-Hellenic summit dialogue, being another important moment in the evolution of good ties between the two countries and peoples.

The Executive Political Committee stressed with satisfaction that during the talks the Romanian head of state and the Hellenic premier had shown mutual willingness to develop still more the relations between Romania and Greece, to raise their cooperation to a still higher level in the political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other domains of joint interest. Stress was laid on the importance of the understandings and documents covenanted which give fresh prospects to the Romanian-Hellenic collaboration and friendship. It was shown that the broad promotion of cooperation between Romania and Greece, on the basis of equality, mutual esteem and advantage, was for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

Emphasis was also placed on the deep significance of the exchange of views Romania's president and the Hellenic premier effected on current international issues. In that context, the Executive Political Committee underlined the special importance of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Andreas Papandreou's declaration on the issues of disarmament, peace and collaboration in Europe and in the world. It was considered that that important document reiterated Romania's and Greece's firm will to strengthen world cooperation and take further action to put an end to the policy of arming, eliminate the nuclear threat, for the assertion of anew course in the international life toward detente, disarmament, peace and collaboration.

Unanimously approving the results of the talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, the Executive Political Committee set the measures required by a proper implementation of the understandings covenanted, of the collaboration objectives, by the steady expansion of the traditional friendly ties between Romania and Greece, between the Romanian and Hellenic peoples.

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CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO KIM IL-SONG ON NATIONAL DAY

AU090502 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 86 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] and DPRK president, Pyongyang.

The 38th anniversary of the foundation of the DPRK--your country's national day--affords me the pleasant opportunity of extending to you warm comradely greetings, most sincere congratulations, and our wishes for good health and happiness, as well as wishes for progress, well-being, and peace to the friendly Korean people.

The proclamation of the DPRK almost 40 years ago was an event of great significance in the long standing history of the Korean people and in their untiring struggle for national and social liberation and for building a free country.

The Romanian people are following with friendship and appreciation the sustained efforts made by the friendly Korean people, closely united with the KWP and under your leadership, during the years that have elapsed since the proclamation of the republic to defend and strengthen their homeland's independence and sovereignty; they also follow the successes achieved in developing industry and agriculture and in improving the material and cultural standard of living of all working people.

I take this opportunity to express satisfaction with the upward trend of relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between the RCP and the KWP and between our countries and peoples. I am convinced that, through our joint efforts, these traditional relations will constantly develop in the spirit and on the basis of understandings concluded during meetings we held in Bucharest and Pyongyang to the benefit of our friendly countries and peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation throughout the world.

On the national day of the DPRK, I want to convey best wishes for success to you, dear Comrade Kim Il-song, my dear friend, to the KWP Central Committee, and to all Korean people in the activity you are carrying out to fulfill the great tasks put forward by the Sixth KWP Congress and in achieving the supreme national aspirations for the homeland's peaceful and independent unification.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR

AU191420 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1400 GMT 19 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19 September 1986--On Friday, 19 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received (Antonio Sabino Cantuaria Guimaraes) who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federative Republic of Brazil to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The call occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Jose Sarney.

The address presented by the ambassador lays stress on the favorable evolution of the Romanian-Brazilian links, particularly on the contribution of the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to Brazil in 1975 to the continuous development of those relations. It points to the possibilities of expanding bilateral trade, economic cooperation, both bilaterally and on third markets, must as to the convergence of the two countries' points of view on a series of international issues.

In his address the Romanian head of state shows that Romania attaches particular importance to its relations with Brazil which witness an upward course in all fields. It emphasizes the fact that the development of these ties is favored by the common Latin origin, the affinities of language and culture, and by the joint aspirations for building a new, free life in a climate of peace and full security.

The address highlights the policy of broad cooperation with all the countries of the world promoted by Romania, the Romanian state's concern for the establishment of a climate of detente, understanding and peace in the world. It also expresses Romania's solidarity with the fight of the Latin American peoples for social and economic progress, for their free and independent development. It stresses that there are conditions for Romania and Brazil to develop a good cooperation both bilaterally and internationally in the service of peace, disarmament, the building of a world without weapons and wars.

After the credentials presentation ceremony President Nicolae Ceausescu had a talk with Brazilian Ambassador Antonio Sabino Cantuaria Guimaraes.

The credentials presentation ceremonies and the talks were attended by Ioan Totu, Foreign Affairs Minister, and Dumitru Apostoiu, Presidential and State Council secretary.

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POLITICS ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU VISITS BUZAU COUNTY, RETURNS TO BUCHAREST

AU230959 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2140 GMT 22 Sep 86

[Text] RCP general secretary, president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Buzau county on Monday.

The new working dialogue of RCP and Romanian state leader with people working in that county was an opportunity for an in-depth analysis, with local party and state organs, with executives in economy, experts and workers in production units, of the stage of fulfillment of tasks for this year and the whole 5-Year period. Ways and measures to improve the activities in various domains, to increase the county's economic might, people's standard of living were examined.

The working visit started in Rimnicu Sarat, where a powerful industrial area with many machine-building enterprises was built, and where existing enterprises were developed and updated and numerous sociocultural establishments were erected.

First visited was the enterprise of pig iron parts foundry for machine-tools, where mechanized production lines, newly-assimilated technologies and the steps taken for the continuous improvement of the quality of cast parts were described.

Appreciating the results scored in the modernization of the enterprise, President Nicolae Ceausescu recommended to experts to further concern themselves with the diversification of the range of cast parts.

Next, the enterprise of assembly devices for the electrotechnological industry was visited, where parts and subassemblies for electrotechnological and automation equipment are produced.

President Nicolae Ceausescu talked to the workers in the visited sections and inquired about their working and living conditions.

After visiting these economic units, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu traversed, in an open car, the main thoroughfares of the locality, heading for the stadium.

Addressing the thousands of citizens in the stadium, Nicolae Ceausescu appreciated the development and modernization of the town, the improvement of the living and working conditions of people in Rimnicu Sarat.

A dialogue with people working in the country's agriculture took place at the Smeeni producer cooperative farm, where RCP general secretary visited the exhibition "development of agriculture in Buzau County" and the animal breeding section.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu left, aboard a helicopter, for Buzau. At the stadium of the town, tens of thousands of Buzau residents greeted him enthusiastically.

The official file headed for the large industrial platform in the eastern part of Buzau.

The first unit visited was the technological equipment manufacturing enterprise that produces a wide range of chemical and petrochemical equipment, as well as assembly parts for various installations for nuclear power engineering.

The visit to the main sections highlighted the special importance attached to export illustrated by the organization of fabrication flows specific to the equipment requested by foreign partners. President Nicolae Ceausescu was informed that export contracts had been honoured in time, possibilities being thus provided to fulfil this year's provisions already on 15 November.

President Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that technologies should be further improved, products updated, and fabrication diversified through the assimilation of new high-quality and high-performance equipment and subassemblies in order to increase the export availabilities of the enterprise.

The visit continued at the glass manufacturing enterprise, the largest of its kind in the country the value of the marketable production of which increased by 65 percent and productivity by 50 percent over 10 years. Nicolae Ceausescu was appreciative of the new products manufactured there among which the duplex type glass for automobiles, ships, locomotives and aircrafts, laminated glass for industrial constructions, glass bricks the Buzau enterprise delivers to its beneficiaries at home and in over 50 countries.

The wire and wire items manufacturing enterprise of Buzau was visited next. The RCP general secretary was informed that the achievements of the eight months elapsed since the beginning of this year were better with all indicators as to the similar period last year. The enterprise developed its technological facilities, expanded its fabrication list through the introduction of high-yield electrodes in current fabrication.

The production sections of the metal cord manufacturing unit were seen round. This unit has increased in annual production capacity almost four times since President Nicolae Ceausescu's previous visit. It was stressed that the unit operates Romanian-made equipment and outfit and that numerous production

organization and modernization measures were applied that will lead to the doubling of productivity in 1990 from 1985.

At the end of the working visit, Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu took part in a big civic rally held in the municipality of Buzau, which was attended by tens of thousands of working people.

Welcomed with live applause and cheers, the RCP general secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor during the rally.

The big civic rally in Buzau municipality concluded in an atmosphere of strong enthusiasm.

In the evening, President Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest.

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CEAUSESCU, WIFE VISIT PRAHOVA COUNTY

Tour Doftana Museum

AU251902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1828 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25 September 1986--After meetings early this week with working people in Buzau and Dimbovita counties, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, President of Romania, together with Mme Elena Ceausescu started on Thursday, 25 September a working visit in Prahova County.

Constantin Dascalescu, Emil Bobu, and Silviu Curticeanu participated in the visit.

The new working meeting of the RCP and Romanian state leader with working people, with the residents of the county emphasized remarkable transformations of the county, with the whole country, went through, especially in the last two decades. As compared with 1965 Prahova County now turns out an industrial output fivefold bigger and the farm output increased over thrice. The county's economic map shows new units of the petrochemical industry, machine-building, light industry, while the material base of the state-run and cooperative agriculture considerably increased and modernized.

Within the new dialogue the RCP general secretary conducts with working people in the county the activity in various sectors is analyzed, with emphasis on the results scored and, hence, on the measures to be taken for raising the whole activity up to a higher level of quality and efficiency, in harmony with the requirements of the country's current socio-economic development stage.

An outstanding moment of the current visit was the stopover made by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu at Doftana Museum, formerly a jail, where, in the late '30s the bourgeois-landlord regime had imprisoned all Communist campaigners with the overt intention to destroy them physically and morally, to destroy the revolutionary movement in Romania and the Romanian Communist Party. Revolutionary campaigner Nicolae Ceausescu too, had been put in jail at Doftana in August 1936, after the sentence issued the same day at the Bresov trial framed up for the communist and anti-fascist campaigners.

The exhibits in the museum evoke the moments of hard struggle and sacrifices of Romanian communists, in defence of the people's fundamental interests. After touring the museum, President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mme Elena Ceausescu, the other members of the leadership of the RCP and Romanian state attended a homage-paying event. Taking the floor, President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized

that "Romanian revolutionaries, communists, anti-Fascists and democrats thwarted there, just like across the nation, the schemes of the bourgeois-landlord regime." "Doftana," he said, "became at that time the symbol of staunchness of the revolutionary struggle, of the confidence in the working class, in the people, in communism, and life, reality have demonstrated the correctness of the communists' confidence."

Recalling that a string of important measures were endorsed this year for the country's multilateral development, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "What we set ourselves, the programs we endorsed unanimously are in the safe hands of communists, of the party, that has had nothing dearer than the interests of the people, of socialism, of communism and peace.

President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a warm homage to the communists, anti-Fascists, democrats and all those that fought and sacrificed themselves for Romania to be free and independent.

Then a visit was paid to economic units in Cimpina, a town with a longstanding industrial tradition, where in the socialists years new enterprises, cultural and health-care units as well as large dwelling ensembles have been built.

The dialogue conducted by President Nicolae Ceausescu with leading cadres, specialists and other working people at the "Neptune" enterprise in the locality covered problems related to the further development and modernization of production and the diversification of the structure of production.

The unit visited next was the mechanical enterprise, a machine building enterprise that turns out products of wide interest for the Romanian economy and exports—pumps for the extraction of oil, tools and drilling devices, etc. These products feature high technical and functional qualities, meeting the most exigent international norms, which makes them more and more in demand abroad.

The same day a visit was paid to a representative agricultural unit of the Prahova County—the producer cooperative farm in the Bucov commune.

Rally Concludes Visit

AU261941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1611 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26 September 1986—In the morning of 26 September Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu continued their working visit to Prahova County meeting with working people of Ploiesti Municipality.

The party general secretary was accompanied by Constantin Dascalescu, Emil Bobu, Nicolae Constantin, and Silviu Curticeanu.

The dialogue the party general secretary had with working people of Prahova focused on questions related to increasing production and productivity, steadily improving the quality of products and the efficiency of the entire

economic activity, tangible measures being set with a view to scoring ever better results, fulfilling the tasks incumbent on the county under the 1986 economic and social development plan, under the provisions of the current 5-Year Plan.

The first stop was made at the petrochemical combine of Brazil. In front of dummies and boards as well as within an exhibition that gathered the most representative products manufactured there, the guests were presented the development of that industrial complex which was extended and updated over the last twenty-one years being now one of the branch's main centers. It was stressed that most of the productive installations and equipment of the combine had been designed and manufactured in the country. Well over one hundred petrochemical products are manufactured there meeting many of the national economy's requirements, part of them being well-known and appreciated in scores of countries on all continents.

The polyisoprene and polybutadiene rubber plants were visited next, creations of high economic efficiency of a team of ICECHIM [Central Institute for Chemical Research] researchers and experts guided by Academician Elena Ceausescu, D. Eng. The plants superiorly capitalize raw materials. Several types of polyisoprene and polybutadiene rubber were presented.

The plants that are to be put on stream in the current 5-Year period were also seen round. These units will make the combine double its marketable production until 1990 from the present one.

The visit continued at the "1 Mai" enterprise of Ploiesti, specialized in the manufacture of oil field equipment, the marketable production of which went up 8.5 times in 1965-1986 and exportables production 14.3 times. The equipment and outfit manufactured there are known in more than thirty countries of the world. [Sentence as received] The roller bit plant and the machine-tools section were seen round.

A series of representative products of the enterprise were examined in operation on the assembly and testing platform. It was emphasized that drilling rigs are preassembled and tested at "l Mai" before they are delivered to beneficiaries. Tangible measures were set on the occasion regarding the diversification and improvement of equipment production, of fabrication technologies, the manufacture of special, highly complex equipment in demand on the home and foreign market.

The chemical equipment manufacturing enterprise was visited next. In the main production sections and departments presented were technological highly-complex equipment and plant. It was showed that the enterprise had automated welding lines in a proportion of 70 percent, as well as the latest types of assembly, checking and testing equipment. The efficiency of the programmes for the modernization of fabrication technologies shows in a higher efficiency and quality of the equipment for the chemical industry, refineries and nuclear power engineering.

The working visit to Prahova County concluded with a big civic rally held in Ploiesti Municipality.

President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor during the civic rally.

The official ceremony of the departure of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mme Elena Ceausescu from Prahova County took place after the big civic rally.

Tens of thousands of working people voiced their love and valuation, their full satisfaction at the productive working dialogue meant to give a fresh, more powerful impulse to the development of their town, of the whole county.

CEAUSESCU MEETS DIMBOVITA COUNTY RCP COMMITTEE

AU232007 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 23 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23 September 1986—RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu met with the members of the Bureau of the Dimbovita County Committee of the RCP in the evening of 23 September.

The analysis continued during the meeting started in the afternoon in industrial and farming units starting from the conclusions drawn during the visit, from the important tasks incumbent on Dimbovita County under the current 5-Year Plan.

The first secretary of the County Party Committee, just as other members of the bureau, informed about the way in which the County Party Organization worked to fulfil the plan provisions for 1986 and the Eighth 5-Year Plan period.

Referring to the achievements scored so far by the county's economy, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the results in fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan can and must be on a par with the county's potential and asked the County RCP Committee to work to use to advantage the technical and material base, all the material and human resources in the county's economy.

Making a reference to the need for the county and each unit to fulfil their production tasks, the RCP general secretary asked that measures be taken for the fulfillment of all plan indicators, of the priority programmes for exemplary exportable stocks. As for agriculture, the RCP general secretary recommended that measures by taken for an increased plant and animal production, planned deliveries to the state stock, the fulfillment of the tasks the country has in achieving the new agrarian revolution.

During the meeting the RCP general secretary demanded that the measures for urban and rural planning by applied already this year, to cope with the population growth and socioeconomic development, and large expanses be reclaimed for agriculture.

Emphasis was placed on the need to reclaim large areas through land melioration works.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that the implementation of Dimbovita County's important tasks calls for improved style and methods of work of party bodies and organizations.

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CSO: 2020/8

SCINTEIA COMMENTS ON NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN HARARE

AU311801 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 31 Aug 86

["An Important Event of International Political Life"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31 August 1986—The summit conference of the non-aligned countries is an important event of the international political life, under the token of the imperative of peace, independence and progress, stresses the Romanian greatly circulated daily SCINTEIA in a commentary published on the eve of the opening of the Harare meeting.

Mentioning that the meeting focuses on the attention of public opinion everywhere, the above-mentioned daily mentions: The interest stirred by the Harare forum mirrors forcefully the role and importance of the non-aligned movement in international arena, the importance of the issues included in the conference's agenda, the international circumstances in which it proceeds.

As an expression of the special interest Romania shows in the forthcoming Summit Conference of the non-aligned states, the recent meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP expresses the confidence that this meeting will contribute to the even more powerful development of the non-aligned countries' meeting, [as received] to the consolidation of the unity of action and to increasing the role of this movement in the political arena, in the struggle for an independent policy, of detente and collaboration, of promotion of peace and understanding among nations. SCINTEIA greets the fact that the current international political and economic situation that keeps being tense, will be the subject-matter of an analysis within the conference. Recalling in this context the position of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which the fundamental problem of our days is the halting of the arms race, and a passage to concrete measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, the securing of the peoples' supreme right to life, to independence and peace, to free and sovereign existence, the daily writes:

This historic task stringently demands the rallying of the efforts and the close collaboration of the efforts of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces everywhere, a mission of high responsibility being incumbent in this sense upon the socialist countries, upon the developing countries, upon all the states that declare for the affirmation of the right to free, independent development, for the democratization of international relations. In this

frame, a particularly important role has to be played by the non-aligned countries, most of them small and medium-sized countries, that make up over two thirds of the world's states.

In connection with the emergence, evolution and affirmation of the Nonaligned Movement, which makes today one of the big progressive forces of contemporary world, an important component of the big anti-imperialist front, SCINTEIA notes: Whereas the "cold war" determined the creation of the military blocs, whose existence, in turn, fed the tension, the Nonaligned Movement was born as a reciprocation of this process, as an expression of the opposition to the policy of bloc, of the wish of "Nonalignment" to it. As a matter of fact, the transformation of the Nonaligned Movement into a factor of outstanding importance of international life is related not only to its wide area but especially to the orientations and objectives it declares for.

These are targets steadily pursued also by Socialist Romania that, as is known, participates for a number of years, as an invitee, to the whole activity of the Nonaligned Movement. This is a telling expression of the relations of close solidarity and collaboration established between Romania and these states, a pregnant recognition of the identical or similar character of the targets pursued, of the correctness and realistic character of our foreign policy of peace and international understanding.

Well known and highly appreciated are the untiring activity deployed by President Nicolae Ceausescu for the consolidation of the role of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing countries, of the nonaligned states in international life, its steady efforts for increasing these states' contribution to the settlement of the big issues of contemporary world.

SCINTEIA warns in its commentary that the worsening of the international situation, the sharpening of various contradictions in contemporary world have not remained inconsequential for the nonaligned movement, that between some of these states there are divergencies and even military conflicts, which can only affect the force and capability of action of the whole movement. In the name of the common interests and fundamental aspirations of the nonaligned countries, that are by far beyond the diversities related to social system, to ideological and political options and to the socio-economic development stages of the member-states, Romania, through the voice of its president, steadily declared for the intensification of the effort toward the cessation of the existing conflicts and their settlement only by peaceful means, by negotiations. Romania is firmly convinced that the Harare meeting can contribute to overcoming these state of affairs, to the even more powerful development of the Nonaligned Movement, to the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the member-states in the struggle for the defence of the national independence and sovereignty, for the affirmation of their interests of free, self-dependent development, on the road to progress and prosperity, in a climate of peace and collaboration.

Highlighting that wide interest and appreciation with the nonaligned states are enjoyed by the complex disarmament program envisioned by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the newspaper writes: Socialist Romania is firmly convinced that the resources of the states—first of all of the

nonaligned states—must be used for development, instead of being wasted by being involved in the arms race. In the same spirit, Romania backs the initiatives of the developing countries for the creation of zones of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons, in the Indian Ocean, South Pacific and other parts of the world.

The commentary highlights the constant preoccupations of the Nonaligned Movement for securing international stability, peaceful coexistence, the promotion of peace and detente in the world, the backing of the peoples' struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the winning and consolidation of national independence, the concrete action to this end holding a prominent place on the agenda of the Harare Conference.

Referring to the major issues facing the nonaligned countries, the developing countries, that are related to the eradication of underdevelopment, SCINTEIA shows that Romania has declared and works for the calling of an international conference sponsored by the UN, with the participation of the developing countries and developed countries, in view of the global settlement of the economic and underdevelopment problems and of elaborating the principles of the new international economic order. At the same time, Romania makes efforts for the organization of a Summit Conference of the developing countries for the establishment of a common platform for negotiation with the developed countries, as well as for the deepening and diversification of the cooperation among them.

In concluding the commentary, SCINTEIA shows:

Public opinion in Romania expresses its hope that through its entire unfolding the high forum of nonaligned countries in the capital of the Republic of Zimbabwe will contribute to increasing the solidarity and unity of act ion of the nonaligned countries, going down as an important contribution to the promotion of confidence, peace and collaboration among peoples, to the efforts for the building of a better and more just world on our planet. As far as she is concerned, Romania, as recently reiterated by President Nicolae Ceausescu, is resolved to develop in future as well as her relations of collaboration and solidarity with the nonaligned and developing countries, with the small and medium-sized countries generally, to permanently expand the collaboration with these states, firmly convinced that this serves to the full interests of all peoples, the cause of independence, peace and progress the world over. In this cause, the Romanian delegation will reiterate Socialist Romania's militant solidarity with the efforts of the nonaligned countries, of the developing countries for the overcoming of the problems facing them, with the actions they take for international peace and collaboration.

POLITICS ROMANIA

PARTY OFFICIALS ATTEND EXHIBITION OPENING

AU201910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 20 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20 September 1986—The exhibition "heroes of the Romanian People's Fight for the Homeland's Unity and Independence" was opened at the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania on Saturday, 20 September. Part of the events dedicated to the anniversary of 600 years since the accession of great Prince Mircea the Old to the throne, the exhibition pays homage to the Romanian people's century—old fight for unity and independence, for the safeguarding of the national being, for the people's welfare and happiness.

The opening ceremony was attended by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, Colonel-General Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence.

Present were also members of the CC of the RCP, decision-makers in the party and state apparatus, executives of creation unions, historians, researchers, representatives of the cultural and scientific life, a large public.

The attendance was addressed by Suzana Gadea.

The exhibition displays a great number of paintings, sculptures and graphic art works illustrative of the Romanian plastic artists' valuable creative power in mirroring the multi-millenary past of the homeland as well as documentary works which stand proof of the Romanian people's century-old heroic fight against exploitation and oppression, for the homeland's liberty and progress.

The exhibition reflects outstanding moments of the past, recalling the personality of valiant Dacian leaders—Burebista and Decebal—continuing with Mircea the Old, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, with other figures of rulers and patriots fighters for the safeguarding of the national being and the ancestors' land. Compositions inspired from the main moments of the national history, the union of Moldavia with Walachia, the great union of 1981, the working class' revolutionary battles led by the Romanian Communist Party for the attainment of the Romanian people's ideals of freedom and

justice, the anti-Fascist and anti-Imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of 23 August 1944, a crucial moment in the country's history hold a distinct place in the exhibition.

The exhibition displays portraits of President Nicolae Ceausescu in the middle of creators of material and spiritual assets illustrating the people's complex work on the large creation sites in the years of Romania's new history.

The exhibition like the other events marking 600 years since the accession to the throne of Prince Mircea the Old stands proof of the RCP's policy of paying homage to outstanding personalities and moments of the national past, of turning the treasure of history's teachings to best account.

CTOBANU ADDRESSES WORLD TU CONGRESS IN BERLIN

AU182033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1927 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] Berlin AGERPRES 18 September 1986—Taking the floor during the plenary session of the World Trade Union Congress underway in Berlin, Lina Ciobanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania (GTUCR), presented the achievements scored in the country's construction especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, the Romanian trade union's role in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Referring to Romania's foreign policy, the speaker highlighted President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and demarches in the service of world peace and collaboration. Stress was laid on the recent initiative of the RCP and Romanian state leader for a 5 percent arms, troops and military spending cut, showing that the trade unions in Romania firmly upholded that proposal and its implementation in Romania already this year. The World T.U. Congress, the speaker showed, which holds its proceedings in the international year of peace, is a special opportunity for the development of the unity of action of working people and trade unions everywhere in the struggle for the cessation of the arms race, for a passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for a world of equality, justice and peace.

On Wednesday, Lina Ciobanu met with Harry Tisch, chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB), when joint satisfaction was expressed for the fine ties between the GTUCR and the FDGB, which continuously develop in keeping with summit understandings.

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ZAMBIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATION MEETS PRESS

AU271820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1708 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27 September 1986—The members of a delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia, headed by Robinson Mwaakwa Nabulyato, speaker of the assembly, that visited Romania, met representatives of the Romanian press, radio and television on 27 September. On the occasion the chairman of the National Assembly expressed his satisfaction and that of the members of the delegation at having called on President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The guest appreciated highly the activity the Romanian head of state devotes to Romania's prosperity, to the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations. At the same time he evoked the good relations between Zambia and Romania and underscored the decisive role played by the summit interviews in continuously expanding and strengthening these friendly relations.

The head of the Zambian delegation also highlighted the valuation enjoyed by Romania's foreign policy of peace and collaboration, by President Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches and actions for the implementation of disarmament, the setting in of a climate of detente, security, confidence and fruitful cooperation in the world. The guest especially appreciated Romania's recent initiative of reducing by 5 percent its arms, military troops and spending, stressing this to be "an important, concrete step along the path of implementing disarmament, peace and peaceful collaboration." At the same time he laid stress on the active support given by Romania to the liberation movements, to the struggle waged by the African peoples for the consolidation of independence and free, self-dependent development along the path of economic and social progress.

POLITICS ROMANIA

WARTIME DIARY, DEPORTATION OF TRANSYLVANIAN JEWS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian No 38, 19 Sep 86 publishes on page 23 an 1,100-word article by Oliver Lustig entitled "Eva Heyman--Anne Frank of Oradea," part of a continuing series entitled "Young People Have a Right To Know." The article recalls the events of July 1941 when "hundreds of Jewish families were evacuated out of Cluj" and deported to Galitia and includes several paragraphs taken from Eva Heyman's diary which she kept from 13 February 1944 until her death in Auschwitz on 17 October of that year at age 13.

Here are some passages from the diary: "Marta was a splendid little girl. I was very proud that she considered me her friend, even though she was two grades ahead of me at school. She had a bicycle just like mine, only of a darker shade of red. We came back together from Szalldobagy. Mother served us chocolate and strawberries and cream. Suddenly someone rang the doorbell. It was Marta's former nanny, now a cook: 'Let's go Marta my dear, the police have come. You must leave with your mother and father.' My mother turned white as a sheet."

"My mother kept crying and telephoning everywhere. Grandmother forbade her to talk about such things on the phone. Then mother went into the city and found out from newspaper men that thousands and thousands of people--just like Marta's family—were sent by train to Poland. They weren't allowed to take with them so much as a suitcase. Not even food."

"Marta's bicycle sat next to mine near the door for a long time. Mother would start crying every time she saw the two red bicycles side by side. I kept asking her why she was crying so much, they wouldn't be sending us away, after all father and Uncle Bela were born in the country. But she said a lot of things can happen and that they might still send us away to Poland because we are Jews and we are living under fascism. I don't know what fascism is, but it must mean for sure that Jews will be sent to Poland."

The rest of Lustig's article is devoted to statistical and other historical information concerning the Jews deported out of Transylvania in the summer of 1941. For example, a Dr Gabor Ajtai, subprefect of Maramures County, gave a public explanation of the deportation order by referring to "Law No 4 of 1939 concerning limiting the participation of Jews in political and economic life, who must turn over their political and economic positions to Hungarians."

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CSO: 2700/19

POLITICS ROMANIA

SCIENTIFIC SESSION MARKS MIRCEA ACCESSION

AU201930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1751 GMT 20 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20 September 1986--A scientific session on "The Great Prince Mircea-Prominent Personality of the National History" was held in Bucharest on Saturday, 20 September.

The session, organized by the National Council of Science and Education together with the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania was attended by members of the CC of the RCP, cadres in responsible offices in the party and state apparatus, cadres working in the field of social sciences, executives of mass and public organizations, people working in Bucharest enterprises and institutions, personalities of the scientific and cultural life.

Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, took the floor at the beginning of the session recalling the accession, six hundred years ago, to the throne of the Romanian Principality of Walachia of Mircea the Old. He showed that the great prince was one of the most brilliant defenders of the Romanian land, staunch fighter for the sovereignty and flourishing of his ancient homeland inherited from his valiant forerunners. The speaker stressed that never before had Mircea's rule, just as the rule of other princes that loved their people and homeland, enjoyed so much appreciation as it did in the luminous years of the epoch inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress.

Highlighting that the brilliant rule of the great Prince Mircea was a period of ample and sustained Romanian effort to defend the country's liberty and sovereignty, the historical rights of the Romanian people to live freely and independently in its ancient hearth, the speaker showed that the national history confirmed that the ideals of justice, freedom and independence of the Romanian people triumphed fully only after heroic and long fights fought valiantly and in close unity throughout centuries and that those fights were victorious due to the emergence of a social class invested with a historic mission—the working class, of its vanguard party—the Romanian Communist Party.

Academicians, ministers, executives of historical research institutes, professors, researchers in historical and socio-political sciences read papers during the session.

The readers presented the prominent personality of the great Prince Mircea the Old as skillful strategist, wise diplomat, fearless leader of the Romanian people in its fights in defence of its being and of its ancestral land. The deeds of the great ruler were recalled, as well as the universal dimension of his personality, the brilliant victories won on the battlefields against the Ottomans through the heroic deeds of the entire people that wanted to live in freedom, independence and unity.

The papers highlighted that under the rule of Prince Mircea the Old the country developed powerfully from an economic and social point of view, the state consolidated, the Romanian art and culture flourished, the country's defence capacity strengthened. The great prince, the papers showed, aware of the Romanian people's unity of material and spiritual culture, of kinship and language, achieved the close collaboration of the three Romanian principalities—Wasachia, Moldavia and Transylvania—their unity proving to be then, just as in the following centuries, a decisive factor of the Romanians' victorious fights for self-reliant existence, for the freedom and integrity of the Romanian land.

During the session it was emphasized that under Mircea the Old's rule the Romanian people strongly opposed the Ottoman expansion toward Central Europe asserting itself as a staunch defender of the European culture and civilization, of the tranquility of the peoples in that part of the continent.

The papers evinced President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on the Romanian people's fight for social justice, national unity and independence, the prime place Romania's president gives in his theoretical work to the masses of people—a genuine history—maker, to the great political personalities that embodied the people's will of freedom and independence.

The remarkable achievements were presented scored by the Romanian people in the years of socialist construction, more particularly in the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) that went down as a moment of historic significance for the consolidation of Romania's independence and sovereignty, for its firm advance on the road of multilateral progress, of socialism and communism.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on understanding and cooperation among all the nations of the world was set forth as an expression of the vocation for peace, independence and sovereignty of the Romanian people. The speakers underscored the prestige Romania, its president enjoy internationally following the demarches and initiatives meant to ensure peace, the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, safeguard each people's inalienable right to freely choose its development path, to decide its own destinies.

At the end of the session the participants sent a telegram to RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu.

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BRIEFS

MONGOLIA'S BATMONH THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, of all the Mongolian people, and on my own behalf, I express heartfelt thanks to you, and through you to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania and to all the Romanian nation for the greetings and wishes extended on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution. I share completely your belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will continuously develop in the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the SR of Romania, in the interest of the Mongolian and Romanian peoples and the cause of peace and socialism. I take this opportunity to extend all Communists and working people in Socialist Romania wishes for great successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and in the struggle for peace and the general security of all people. Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the MPRP and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Aug 86 p 5 AU] /12913

CASTRO THANKS ROMANIAN LEADERS—To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On behalf of the Cuban people, Communist party, and government, I want to express sincere thanks for the warm message of congratulations and solidarity conveyed on the 33d anniversary of the Moncada barracks assault. Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 86 p 6 AU] /12913

RADULESCU MEETS FINNISH PREMIER--Helsinki (AGERPRES) 9 September 1986--While in Helsinki, Gheorghe Radulescu, vice president of the State Council of Romania, had an interview with Kalevi Sorsa, Finnish prime minister. During the talk, Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa was highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's political will and resolve to further develop steadily the Romanian-Finnish relations, to mutual benefit, in the spirit of accords already covenanted. Stress was laid on the two countries' interest in finding

new ways and means to intensify cooperative relations. Both sides pointed to the importance of continuing the political contacts between the two countries, as an important means of rapprochement and knowledge, of deepening the bilateral collaboration, of increasing their contribution to solving major international issues. Stress was laid on the importance of President Nicolae Ceausescu's recent initiative on cutting arms, troops and military spending, on his sustained activity for the creation of an atmosphere of confidence, security and collaboration in Europe and the world over. Gheorghe Radulescu also met with Seppo Lindblom, Minister of Trade and Industry, and approached aspects related to ways and means to develop economic exchanges and cooperation in production between Romania and Finland. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 9 Sep 86 AU] /12913

DASCALESCU MESSAGE TO RYZHKOV--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a cable to Comrade N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in connection with the sinking of the "Admiral Nakhimov" passenger ship which claimed numerous human lives. On behalf of the Government of the SR of Romania and on his own behalf, the cable conveys sincere condolences and feelings of compassion to the bereaved families. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Sep 86 p 6 AU] /12913

GOODS PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES CONGRESS—Within the framework of the Third Working People's Congress, the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of Cooperatives for the Production, Purchasing, and Sale of Goods took place 4-5 September. As the last point on the agenda, the Congress elected the Council of the Central Union of Cooperatives for the Production, Purchasing and Sale of Goods [CENTROCOOP] and the Auditing Commission. In its first plenary meeting, the CENTROCOOP Council elected the Executive Committee. Comrade Paul Niculescu was elected chairman of the Council and Comrades Ana Albu, Ileana Jalba, Ion Radulescu, Teodor Roman, and Ion Sandru were elected vice chairman. Comrade Ion Medra was elected chairman of the Audition Commission. Comrade Alexandru Dinulescu was elected chairman of the Central Commission of Credit Cooperatives. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Sep 86 p 7 AU] /12913

CONGRESS ELECTS BODIES—Within the framework of the Third Congress of working people in industry and other economic areas, the proceedings of the Seventh Congress of Handicraft Cooperatives took place 4-5 September this year. As the last point on the agenda, the Congress elected the Council of the Central Union of Handicraft Cooperatives [UCECOM] and the Auditing Commission. In its first plenary session, the UCECOM Council elected the Executive Committee and its Bureau, the chairman, and vice chairman of UCECOM. Comrade Petre Danica was elected chairman and Comrades Elena Ene, Paul Nagy, Ion Chirilescu, Ana Ungureanu, and Elena Doina Ciupea were elected vice chairmen. Comrade Ilie Alexe was elected as chairman of the Auditing Commission. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Sep 86 p 7 AU] /12913

DASCALESCU GREETS KANG SONG-SAN--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania sent a greeting cable to Comrade Kang Song-san, premier of the State Administrative Council of the DPRK on the occasion of that country's National Day anniversary. The cable conveys most

sincere congratulations and warm, comradely greetings and expresses the belief that, through joint actions, in the spirit of the talks and understandings reached during summit meetings, the governments of the two countries will make an increased contribution to the development and diversification of relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the DPRK. The cable also conveys the Korean premier and the Administrative Council ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Korean Workers Party. [Text] [Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 7 Sep 86 p 7 AU] /12913

ARAD PEOPLES COUNCIL CHAIRMAN--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Elena Pugna is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Arad County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 4] /7051

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Col Gen Constantin Sandru is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the State Planning Committee. Comrade Col Gen Gheorghe Zarnescu is appointed vice chairman of the State Planning Committee, Comrade Marin Capisizu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the food industry and the purchasing of agricultural products, Comrade Ioan Oancea is appointed deputy minister of the food industry and the purchasing of agricultural products; Comrade Constantin Rosca is appointed chairman of the Legislative Council, with the rank of deputy minister. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 4] /7051

CSO: 2700/11